LIFE OF HAFIZ RAHMAT KHAN

(HAYAT-I-HAFIZ RAHMAT KHAN)

By

SYED ALTAF ALI BRELVI

English Translation With Introduction

By

Prof. Md. Hamiuddin Khan

Price Rs.

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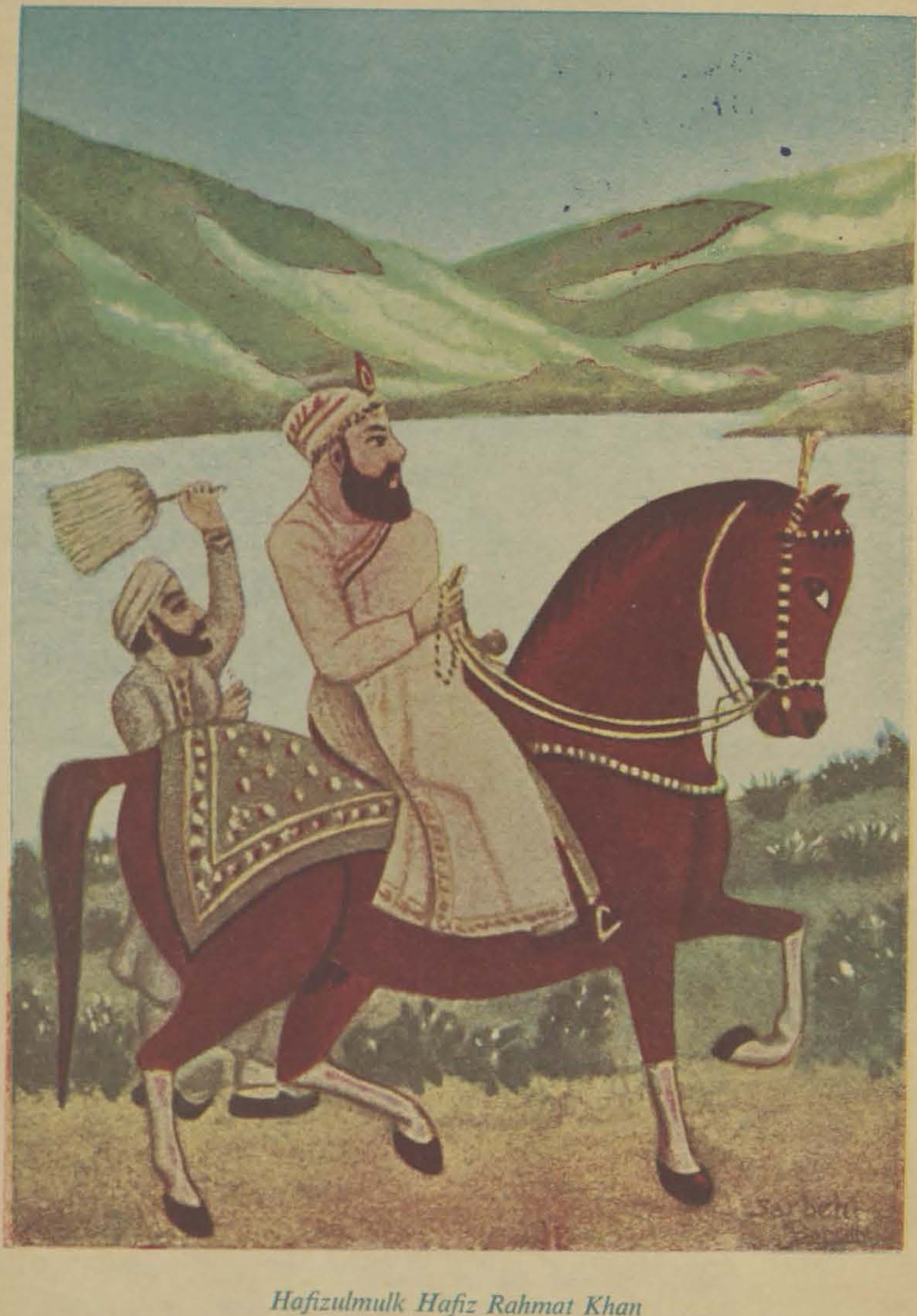
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Hafizulmulk Hafiz Rahmat Khan

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PREFACE

It is gratifiyng that the rising generations of our intellectuals are growing conscious of the injustice done to the nation by the insidious attempts of a group of imperialist—minded civilian-historians, and their Hindu disciples, who flourished later; whose main object has been to distort and misrepresent facts in order to tarnish the deeds and achievements of important historical personages of the Mediaeval Indo-Islamic period. The outcome of this intellectual awakening is that not a day passes, but that the fruits of the researches of our conscientious writers in the field of national history are brought before us. Allama Shibli, Lala Lajpat Rai, Major B. D. Basu, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar and Moulana Akbar Shah Khan of Najibabad and others made a beginning of re-orienting Indian history and they have been followed by a number of other research scholars. This monogram 'Hayat-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khan' is also a step in this direction.

Hafiz Rahmat, like other illustrious persons of Indian history—Aurangzeb, Mir Kasim, Tipu and Nawab Amir Khan etc—, has been a target of historians' slander and misrepresentation They have been painted as usurpers, oppressors and bigoted rulers. The modern histories of India are mostly full of such baseless distortions and mischievous fabrications.

With Hafiz Rahmat Khan the case has been even worse. His chroniclers have blackened him and his nation—the Afghans—with the same brush, with the result that the Rohillas are still regarded by many as a group of bandits and free-booters. On the plausible excuse that a gang of marauders deserved to be crushed mercilessly the Nawab Wazir and the East India Company are lauded for having rendered a signal service to the country and its people by making an end of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and terminating the domination of his sect over a strip of land in the Sub-Continent.

To quote an example, the voluminous history, "Seirul-Mutakherin" is the work of one Molvi Ghulam Husain, a secret agent of the English in Islamic camp, who, himself, betrays his pro-alien leanings in a casual passage in his own work. Describing his activities while he was at Patna with Mir Kasim, he has confessed that he was carrying on correspondence with Dr. Fullerton, of which he was keeping his father informed, and that he had insisted to advance measures calculated to consolidate the position of their family and earn the gratitude of the English nation. The entire work of Ghulam Husain is based upon this mentality, but 'Seri-ul-Mutakherin is accorded a high place in historical literature by Anglo-Indian and Hindu writers.

Another so-called historical work of this category is "Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh", whose author Mr. Sheo Pershad, according to Sir John Strachey, supplied valuable information to Mr. Hamilton for the latter's

work on the Rohillas. Mr. Sheo Pershad had completed this book on the request of a civilian Mr. Kirkpatrick and showed it to Nawab Faizullah Khan, and at his instance made considerable changes in the text. The manuscript then somehow fell into the hands of Mr. Hamilton, who rendered it into English and compiled a history of the Rohillas, based upon this material. This apocryphal piece of historical literature is, however, believed to be the *Bible* of Rohilla chronicle, and no attempt on Rohilla history is considered authentic or complete unless it bears the stamp of Mr. Hamilton's assertions and views. This book has, no doubt, been written by a native chronicler, but it should not be ignored that its production was motivated by considerations other than presentation of facts, as they were.

In the same category comes the book 'Imadus-Sa'dat' by a stipendiary of Nawab Sa'dat Ali Khan of Lucknow. Such a work, reflecting partisan views of one group in the Oudh-Rohilkhand dispute does not deserve the place of honour, it has been given by European historians, for obvious reasons.

The most important book on Rohilla affairs wirtten in Modern times is Sir John Strechey's Hastings and the Rohilla War. The suthor was the governor of the the United Provinces. His official position and the fact, that he had easy access to valuable information on the subject contained in the records of the India Office Library and the British Museum, has lent special significance and weight to it. The learned author made a judicious use of official minutes, records and

despatches, which were at his disposal. Nobody can minimise the value and importance of these records. But one has to bear in mind that the material on Hastings and his dealings with the Rohillas, preserved in India House Library and the famous British Museum, is not complete,as the members of the Calcutta Council Messrs. Clavering, Monsoon and Francis, mentioned in their letter dated the 30th Nov. 1774 addressed to the Court of Directors concerning the oppression perpeterated on the Rohillas.

In the light of the contents of this letter Sir John Stracheys' monumental work loses its value as the last word on the subject, with which it deals; though he fully deserves gratitude for having compressed in the pages of his book valuable matter which can help, more or less, in arriving at independent, impartial conclusion regarding the Rohilla war.

Opposed to the views of Hamilton, Sir John Strachey and other Anglo Indian historians are the opinions and views of other British publicists and scholars, who have upheld truth and struck to historical veracity at all cost. Such men, as Edmund Burk, Col.Champion, Sheridon, Fox, Francis, Lord Macaulary and J. S. Mill, rise above pretty personal and political considerations and sectarians, national prejudices to give a perfectly true picture of the Rohillas and their leader Hafiz Rahmat and exposed the intrigues culminating in the tragic end of Hafiz Rahmat.

I have drawn copiously from the writings, speeches and statements of these conscientious persons, besides

many other historians. Among them 'Gul-i-Rahmat; 'Gulistan-i-Rahmat; and 'Tarikh-i-Sulemani; deserve special mention. Unfortunately, British authors have discarded these works on the plea that, because they have been composed by persons closely related to Hafiz Rahmat, their versions and judgment of persons can not be accepted as true. But as stated above, the authors of 'Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh; and 'Seri-ul-Mutakherin are equally unreliable, because they were prejudiced in favour of the enemies of Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

I have tried to place bright and dark sides of Hafiz Rahmat's character before the readers. For this purpose while I have drawn upon Strachey, Hamilton Maulvi Najmul Ghani Khan, author of 'Akbar-us-Sanadid; (History of Rampur), I have not overlooked 'Gulistan-i-Rahmat' and 'Gul-i-Rahmat' also. I have not accepted bindly, the verdicts of any historian, unless I have weighed and judged them critically. Only the readers can judge the fruit of my hard work and labour.

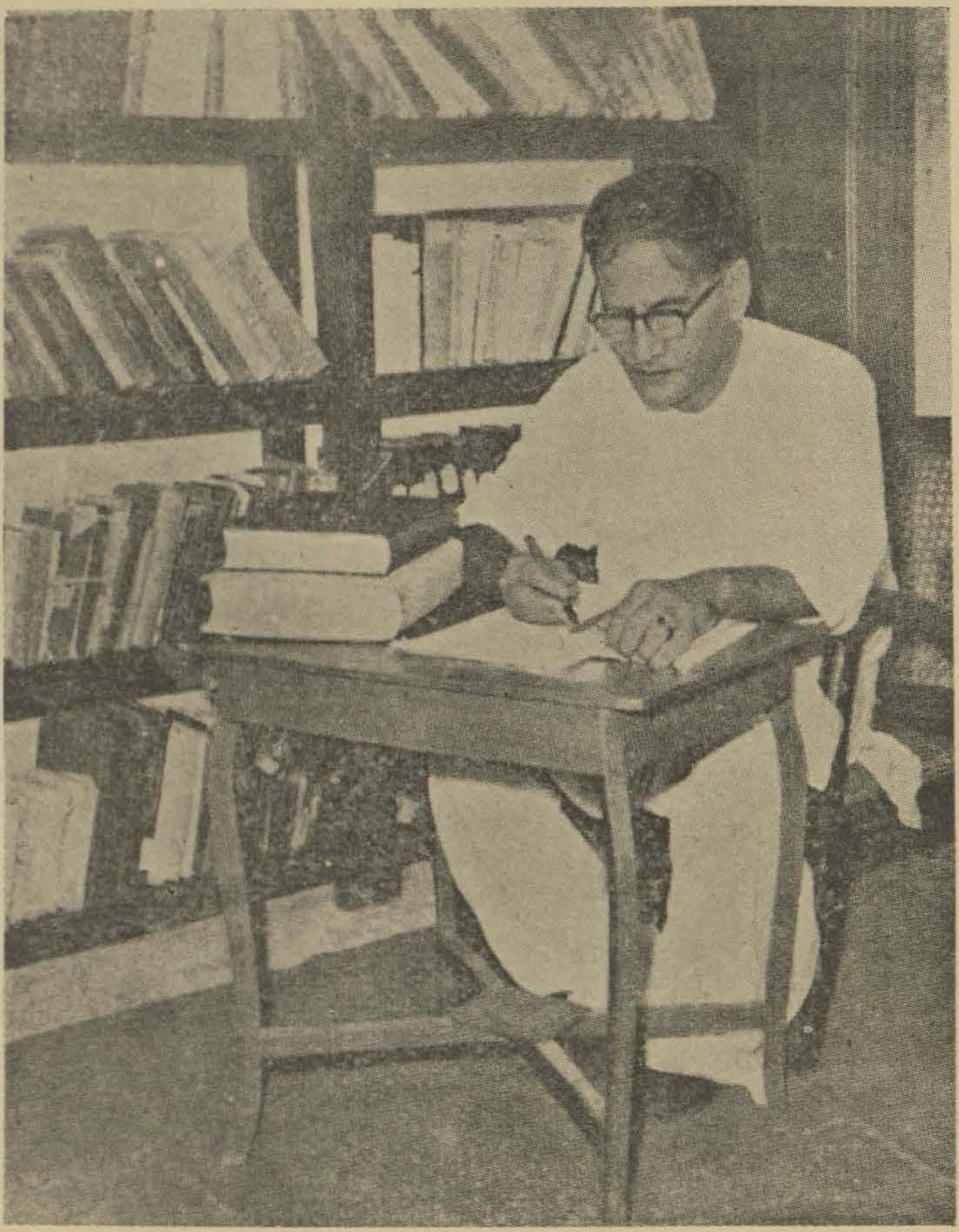
A biographer has to guard himself against tendency to gloss over the defects of his hero or minimise his shortcomings. I have not concealed the defects or failures of Hafiz Rahmat, nor have I overlooked the great qualities of Ali Mohd Khan or any other big personality of his time.

Besides delineating the life and character of the subject of this book I have described the history of Rohilkhand and of its great men from the days of the

Mahabharat upto the present time and also incorporated in this book a detailed account of the descendents of Hafiz Rahmat and their family connections and the rent-free lands, persions etc. granted to them. For this purpose I have added a few appendixes, which furnish useful and interesting information.

I have waded through a mass of literature—English, Urdu and Persian printed and manuscripts, a brief list of which is given here. Besides, a number of old disfigured manuscripts had to be traced and deciphered in order to fill some important gaps in reconstructing the theme of the main story-an arduous task.

I have received invaluable help of various nature from many friends, and admirers of Hafiz Rahmat, without whom it would have been impossible to carry through this design. I am highly thankful to these gentlemen, specially to Haji Nawab Nisar Ahmad Khan of Bareilly, who gave me his valuable collection of books and manuscripts, which I studied with great benefit; Maulvi Mohd. Azim Shah Khan a scholar of Persian, for guidance in deciphering and translating Persian transcripts, Maulvi Nizamuddin Hasan, proprietor Nizami Press and Editor, "Zulqarnain", Badaun for going through and improving the manuscript and correcting the proof and above all to Sahibzada Abdul Wajid Khan M.A. (Alig), for his munificent donation, which enabled me to get over initial financial difficulties in bringing out the book.



Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi
Author
"Hayat-e-Hafiz Rahmat Khan"

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BAREILLY
1934

Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi.

FOREWORD

The recent re-evaluation of Indo-Muslim History, in relation, particularly, to the Afghan, role has brought to light not only the Afghan contribution to the political, social and cultural development of the Sub-continent, but has also highlighted their new experiments in the field of statecraft, which, if successful, would have highly benefited the country and spared it of many catastrophic political and dynastic revolutions. The story of the Afghans' attempt at the remaking of the Indian history does not end with the destruction of their empires in the north or in the eastern provinces of India. Even in the days of their decline and humiliation under their rival Mughuls, they refused to submit to the inexorable decree of fate and continued, with steadfast determination, born of conviction of the righteousness of their case, to struggle for the restoration of their national independence.

When after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughul supremacy in India received a severe setback and the process of distintegration began under his weak and incapable successors, the Afghans reappeared on the political stage to play a leading part in the history of the eighteenth-century India. But the achievements—both military and administrative—of the Rohilla and Bungash Afghans have not received due recognition. The Bungash leaders, Nawab Mohammed Khan and Ahmed Khan, and the Rohilla Sardars,

temporary events will, however, be disposed to dismiss its probability as fantastic. But for their incurable disunity and unavoidably adverse circumstances, created by their enemies, they would have propped or supplanted the empire of Delhi, just as they did in the middle of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under circumstances similar to those, which prevailed in their time. But the Rohillas, did not despair and when another opportunity offered itself in the middle of the nineteenth century with the outbreak of the armed struggle for liberating the country from the clutches of foreign imperialists, they jumped to the forefront of freedom fighters, particularly in Rohilkhand. That they were baulked of the fruit of their earnest efforts, just when it was about to fall into their hands, is a sad and tragic story regarding the heroic performances of the Rohillas, nullified by the machinations and chicanery of interested parties, who kept their communal and personal gain before nation's good, us well as, lack of unity and sincere co-operation in the ranks of patriots.

I have thought it fit to add a fairly long introduction to the English translation of "Hayat-e-Hafiz Rahmat Khan" in which I have traced the history of the Afghans from the beginning of their settlement in India and the establishment of their kingdom. I have also mentioned, briefly, their contribution to the cultural advancement of the country to show that 'it was they who laid the foundation for the excellent achievements of the Mughuls in the various aspects of political, social, economic and cultural life in the country', which also left a rich legacy for the future

rulers and administrators of the sub-continent. This will serve as a background to appreciating political activities and administrative and civil organisations of the transient Afghan kingships established in India.

I am highly grateful to the Academy of Educational Research, All Pakistan Educational Conference, and its learned director Mr. Syed Altaf Ali Brelvi, who also happens to be the author of the book, for giving me permission to translate it into English and provided every facility for its publication. Many friends, and also admirers of the Rohillas, came forward to offer me every help and useful suggestions. Mr. Mohd. Ayub Qadri, M.A., who has got a brilliant future as scholar-*cum*-historian and Mr. Syed Mustafa Ali Brelvi, B.Com., who bids fair to become an authority on persons and politics during the period of Mughul decline and freedom fight, proved highly useful to me with their valuable notes, suggestions and corrections. It is my pleasant duty to express my sincere gratitude to them. I have also to thank Mr. Raihan Uzzaman, my colleague in the Academy of Educational Research, for typing my manuscript and particularly taking great pains in preparing an exhaustive Index. My son, Dr. Khan Masud, proved very helpful in revising proof corrections, reading out manuscript and suggesting several improvements in it.

I shall be failing in duty if I do not mention the great debt of gratitude which I owe to my friend and former colleague Mr. Noor Mohd. Khan, M.A., the learned Librarian of the State Bank of Pakistan,

Roh.[2] They possessed, in common with all other mountainous people, strong physique, high fighting qualities and love of freedom, which made them particularly responsive to appeals to arms and daring exploits. Having no settled life at home and denied the facilities of easy procurement of the means of sustenance they made their services easily available to the daring Muslim kings and conquerers who had been tempted, forced or provoked to invade India since the last decade of the 10th century. The fertile plains of India furnished them with ample opportunities to conquer, to settle and to organise. "The Afghans played a distinctive role in Indo-Muslim history and made a remarkable contribution to political, social and cultural life of this Sub-Continent. A virile and bold nation, they invigorated the Muslim state and society and left a precious legacy in administration and culture to the succeeding generations."[3]

The origin of the Afghans has been subjected to close and critical investigation, but it still remains a topic of endless controversy. Niamatullah in his well

2.—"Roh is the name of a mountainous country which extends from Swat and Bajore to the town of Sini. In breadth it stretches from Hasan Abdal to Kabul. Qandahar is situated in this country." (Farishta) quoted by J.S. Strachey, Page 6.

This mountainous territory bred a race of a hardy enterprising warriors who poured into India with Muslim invaders, "like ants and locusts. and seemed to shoot up of the ground like so many blades of grass." They were not merely adventurers or mercenaries, selling them to the highest bidders. Soon after their settlement in various parts of the Sub-continent they carved out provincial kingdoms in different parts of the Sub-continent and succeeded in setting up empire at Delhi twice. It was through them that the Muslim rulers of India received constant supply of fresh blood and energy, unimpaired by the degenerating and enervating effects of the Indian climate, which had ultimately told upon their physique and mental vigour also as a result of long residence in Indian plains.

3.—'History of the Afghans in India,' by Dr. A. Raheem, Preface i.

known work "Makhzan-e-Afghana" propounded the theory of their Semitic origin and Hafiz Rahmat himself in "Khulasat-ul-Ansab," the only *extant* historical work ascribed to him, has also traced the origin of the Afghans to Jewish stock.[4] Modern European historians of the Afghans have also subscribed to this view. But Dr. A. Raheem, who has examined this question in a chapter of his scholarly work, does not subscribe to it. He says "The theory of the semitic origin of the Afghans does not, however, stand the test of serious analysis." While summarising the grounds on which opponents of this theory have tried to prove that resemblance to the Jews in physical features, system of nomenclature, customs and manners, religions, social usages and language does not warrant any racial affinity between the Jews of Palestine and the Afghans of the mountainous region in the North-West of India, he also speaks of "the implausibility of the theory." But he suggests no other definite clue to the origin of the Afghans, which proves that the last word on this important issue is yet to be written.[5] The Afghans started coming into India in the wake of the Muslim conquerors and contributed not a little to the amazing success of Muslim arms against such born and professional fighters as the Rajputs, Jats and other Hindu martial races. Subuktigin was the first conqueror who showed them the way to India. He enlisted them in his army and was pleased to discover that they possessed good fighting qualities. Mahmud of Ghazni and, later on, Mohd. Ghori and his lieute-

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4.—Makhzan-e-Afaghna, 3. 9-b and Khulasatul Ansab, pp. 15-a and 29-a-b referred to by Dr. A. Raheem, p. 25.

5 —*See* Footnote on Page X

nants employed them in large number in their armed forces. The Afghans helped them materially not only in extending territorial conquests in India, but also in founding a Muslim empire in the country. Their services were awarded by conferment of jagirs and land assignments in various provinces of the Sub-continent, specially Bihar, the United Provinces and some parts of the Punjab. They were employed as garrisons to secure Delhi against the turbulent Mewatis.[6] The immigration of the Afghans into India and their recruitment, *en masse*, *in* the army of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, which had continued unabated, received a momentum in the days of Sultan

5.—(*Contd.*) "The History of Afghans in India," by A. Raheem, Chapter II, pp. 25-28. The author of this monogram, Mr. Brelvi, has given a resum'e of the book "Nasabnama-i-Afaghna" written by Abdus Salam Khan who has tried fairly successfully to establish the Jewish origin of the Afghans. His argument appearssound. See pages 6—8.

A new theory concerning the origin of the Afghans has been advanced by Mr. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi in his "Tarikh-i-Azad Pathan." He writes "The Afghans regard themselves Bani Israil. It is true that they do not belong to the ten missing tribes of the Jews, they accepted the prophethood of Moses and remained faithful to his faith, and the teachings of Torah. Subsequently they accepted Islam and the Holy Quran and are still followers of Islamic Shariat.

The same writer further says, "Some modern scholars, particularly among non-Afghans, have started a new theory. They assert vehemently that the Afghans belong to the Aryan race. The Aryan connection in view of the vast majority of the Aryans in the world appeals to them. But modern research lends no support to this claim. Explorers and scholars aver that long ago several tribes crossed the Hindukush mountain and settled down in present Afghanistan. They have been mentioned by Greek historians as Paktan in their writings. Paktan, in course of time, became Pathan. They can be identified with the Aryan race. Historians also admit that in the reign of Nabuchednazzar, a tribe of Bani Israil, had crossed into Ghor from Palestine and settled there. They were, of course, Bani Israil. Thus the Aryans and the Bani Israil lived together in Afghanistan and according to reliable historians they started intermarriages. In course of time they were so completely and indistinguishably intermingled, that their racial differences were obliterated. The Israilites identified themselves with the children of the land of their adoption to the extent that they began to speak the Pukhto language. If even this theory were accepted, the Pathans are neither Aryans nor Israilites exclusively, but the product of the assimilation of the two races. (Tarikh-e-Azad Pathan, pp. 65, 72).

6.—Tabqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi — quoted by Dr. A. Raheem in his "History of Afghans in India", pp. 29-30.

Mohd. Tughlaq, who treated them with indulgence and gave them charge of important provinces. The Afghans had thus acquired considerable political significance in the country. They were placed in high, responsible positions and were entrusted with military commands. "Thus by the end of the 14th century the Afghans had developed into a politically important community, settled in the nerve-centre of Northern India, such as Doab in the Punjab and Katehr—the territories adjoining the imperial capital, Delhi.[7] Feroz Tughlaq followed the policy of patronising Afghan nobles and thus contributing to the growth of their influence in India. The civil wars among the successors of Feroz Tughalq and consequent confusion in the country enabled the Afghans to absorb more power in the Sultanate."[8]

The terrible invasion of Taimur in 1938 was the last straw which broke the back of the Delhi Sultanate. It led to indescribable anarchy and confusion throughout the Sub-continent. It also created a political vacuum which every ambitious leader or military adventurer was tempted to try to fill. The remnants of the once powerful Tughlaqs and their successors, the Sayyids, tried their luck, but failed. The forces of distintegration were too strong and violent to be kept within bound, any longer. The Delhi empire thus foundered on the rock of court intrigues and feudal insubordination, after completing varied rounds of rise, greatness and decay.

7.—Dr. A. Raheem, pp. 31, 32: Niamatullah, p. 41 (a)

8.—*Ibid.*

At his height of national crisis the Lodi Afghans stepped forward to put the shattered barge of the Muslim empire on the even keel. At first Daulat Khan Lodi lent his shoulder to steadying the sinking the Delhi kingdom. But it was Behlol Lodi, his nephew, who succeeded in establishing the first Afghan kingship at Delhi in 1451 and in obtaining the sovereignty of Northern India. The great significance of Lodi interposition in the royal set-up of the time lies in the fact that it checked the revivalist ambition of the Hindus, who were anxious to avail themselves of the prevailing political uncertainty and confusion to throw off the yoke of Muslim domination. Mr. Thomas in his well-known work "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings", (pages 327—328), has asserted that the process of the recovery of free Hindu tribes against the effete dominancy of the domesticated Muslims had been in continuous action from the day when the thin wedge of Mohammedanism first thrust itself among the overwhelming population of India........... Added to this normally antagonistic process of intermarriages with Hindu females and admission of Hindu converts upon very easy terms to allow honours of Mohammedan nobility, so that any prestige of the conquering race might have claimed was altogether subdued, if not degraded by these inconsistent concessions. [9] Besides preserv-

9.—See Lane Poole, Mediaeval India, pp. 162-163 (189-91). This process of inter-racial promiscuity through intermarriage and the resulting effeminsiation of Muslims combined with disproportionate escalation ot Hindu nobility and princely houses attained the highest pitch in the reign of Akbar with obvious consequences. Aurangzeb exerted throughout his long reign to undo the evil effects of this short-sighted policy, but for reasons beyond his control, he could not succeed. The merits of Akbar's reformist and pseudo-religious measures have been extolled by many historians, but a critical long-range view of them will reveal the explosive, harmful tenducies of Akbar's so—called secularism A study of persent day 'secularism' of India will fully support this view.

ing the faction-stricken empire for the Muslims, the Lodis also did some spade work for reclaiming the country from the slough of feudal obscuratism and administrative corruption, and thus prepared the way for the Mughul and Sur regimes. But it was not an easy throne that the Pathans were called upon to occupy. The difficult task of restoring order out of chaos called forth skill and statesmanship of the highest order. It cannot be claimed that Lodi kings, nobles and the Afghans in general, proved equal to the task.

The Lodi dynasty, nevertheless, constitutes an important period in the history of Afghan connection with India. The paternal care of Bahlol Lodi, the establishment of a purely Pathan kingdom in India and increasing prospects of carving out a prosperous career in the country, led to a continuous flow of immigrants from the hilly regions of the north to the plains of India and even further on. This proved of decisive advantage to Islamic society, making for its vigour and vitality and preparing it to withstand the flood of scepticism and heterodoxy that came in the wake of Persian and Turanian influx and Hindu renaissance in the 16th century, which threatened to undermine the basic values of Islam in a land, where its followers were in a small minority in the midst of a vast, hostile, and irreconcilable majority of non-muslims.

The Lodis had to make way for the Mughuls. The harsh and tyrannical policy pursued by the last king, Ibrahim Lodi, towards his nobles, who had been accustomed to the fraternal treatment of Bahlol and

judicious, tolerant behaviour of Sikandar Lodi. Inflamed by the overbearing attitude of their ruler and overpowered by an irrepressible spirit of revenge, many prominent nobles, including relations of the Sultan, sought alliance with the Mughul Sultan, Zaheeruddin Mohd. Babar, who had captured Kabul and Ghazni and was preparing an expedition against India. Babar, who had a very poor opinion of the Afghans, welcomed this invitation to invade India, on which he had already set his heart, and lost no time in conquering Lahore and marching upon Delhi. In the fateful battle of Panipat, in 1526, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon Ibrahim Lodi, who, inspite of his superior force and fully replenished treasury, failed to organise his resources and recast his strategy at the battlefield, mainly due to the disaffection of his nobles, whose loyal co-operation and support alone could have helped him against the Mughul invader. Delhi and Agra were occupied and the foundation of the Mughul empire in India was laid.

But this national catastrophe opened the eyes of the Afghans and they set grimly to the task of retrieving the lost position. They resolved to fight for every inch of the ground and in their zeal to oust the foreigners, some Afghan nobles of note did not hesitate to throw in their lot with the great Rana Sanga of Mewar, who was also casting his eyes upon Delhi. With this end in view, he had himself written to Babar asking him to invade India. He had hoped that a deadly Afghan-Mughul struggle would so weaken the Muslims as a nation, that neither would be left in a position to stand in the way of his carrying out his cherished design of

restoring Rajput rule at Delhi. But Babar's refusal to withdraw from the land of his recent military achievements upset his plans. He was now forced to come openly in the field against the Mughuls. For this purpose he formed a powerful Rajput confederacy, to which many a disgruntled Afghan noble also joined. But the Rana met the fate of Ibrahim in Lodi, 1527, and Babar was left free to further extend the boundaries of his newly founded empire in India.

The Afghans, however, did not give respite to the great Babar during his brief tenure of kingship. At this cirsis, fortunately for them the intrepid soldier—statesman Farid Khan, the future Sher Shah, struggled his way up to the leadership of the disorganised Afghans, who are, for all their national democratic background and inherent love of freedom, great sticklers of personality—cult. They had felt handicapped for want of true leadership, and for that reason, had failed to organise effective resistance to the Mughuls. But as soon as a capable man came forward to direct their affairs, they flocked around him and compelled the Mughuls to yield sovereignty in India to the vanquished Afghans in 1540—only 14 years after their tragic defeat at Panipat in 1526.

Thus the second Afghan empire was established under the aegis of the Suri king, Sher Shah, who founded the Sultanate in 1540 on the flight of Humayun from India. Sher Shah enjoyed a brief reign of five years, which, nevertheless, forms the most glorious period in the history of the Sub-Continent. His success, as a ruler, was the result of his enlightened policy towards

the Afghan nobles; and his liberal, tolerant attitude towards the Hindus. He set up a more centralised, strong monarchy than the Bahlol Lodi had been able to do, without humiliating himself before his nobles as Bahlol had done. But even Sher Shah, who was fully aware of the tribal prejudices and instincts of his nobles, felt no scruples in conniving at their clandestine efforts to increase their feudal rights.[10] They were, in many cases, left free to exercise considerable authority within the limit of their *jagirs*, and even to increase thier military strength.

His dealings with the Hindus were marked with the same liberality, moderation and prudence. They were granted full religious and social freedom and were promoted to highest posts of honour and responsibility, both in civil and military departments. But the Afghan king was not prepared, in his efforts to conciliate the Hindus, to undertake measures, contrary to the principles of Islamic Shariat, or calculated to injure the feelings of his own co-religionists. A great scholar and keen student of history, he was inspired by modern ideas and the spirit of new age in formulating his administrative and religious plans, which were bound to influence history in future. By his reforms and measures which were meant to promote national unity in India, "he founded an empire broadly based upon the peoples' will"[11] and thus he prepared the ground for Akbar's epoch-making work. In the words of Dr. Vincent Smith, "If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty and the great Mughuls

10. M.A. Rahem, History of the Afghans, p. 47.
11. Crooke, Vol II. p. 97.

would not have appeared on the stage of history"[12]. His early death, however, was followed by mutual dissensions and rivalry among his sons and nobles, which brought to an end the revival of the Afghans and the supremacy which they had acquired in India. But Sher Shah's place in history is fully assured. To him belongs the credit of laying out an enlightened and benevolent policy for the rulers of succeeding ages, by following which national intergration could be secured in a racially divided country like India. Unfortunately, his great successor Akbar could not understand the merit of this constructive way and consequently failed to keep both the communities in India fully attached to him.

Sher Shah died in the year 1545 at Kalinjar. He had nominated his elder son A'dil Khan as successor, but his younger son Jalal Khan, taking advantage of the absence of his brother at some distance from the royal court, put forth his own claim. The prominent Afghan nobles, who met in a council, after Sher Shah's death, to decide this question of succession, discused the comparative worth and efficiency of the two brothers. After heated discussion, in which eloquent arguments were advanced for and against each candidate, Jalal Khan was acknowledged king in preference to his elder brother, although the latter had been nominated by his father, Sher Shah. The proceedings of this assembly, a sort of 'Convention parliament' have been preserved in the pages of histories,[13] written by Afghan and other historians.

12. 'Oxford History of India'. p. 329.

13. Makhzan-e-Afaghna; Tabqat-e-Akbari; Muntakhibut-Tawarikh; Firishta; Abbas Sarwani.

They clearly indicate that the Afghans observed the principles of election in filling up a vacant throne. The *jagirdars* and tribal sardars had a decisive voice in the election of their kings and their decisions often set aside the nomination of the late occupant of the throne[14].

Jalal Khan, who sat on the throne under the title of Islam Shah, proved a worthy successor, who tried to keep up the traditions of his father, and conserved his laws and institutions. He was, however, lacking in the great qualities, which had enabled his father to lay the foundation of a united India. He did not possess political far-sight, balanced judgment and forbearance. Still, he had the good sense of promoting those institutions which worked in the interest of the empire and the people.

Islam Shah, who had his own administrative ideals also for remodelling his administrative system, pushed on the work of centralising the Sultanate, and investing it with the characteristics of benevolent kingship, which Sher Shah had begun. But in dealing with powerful nobles, who had been arrayed in rival camps

14. Among the Lodis Bahlol was nominated successor by his uncle because his own son was lacking in qualities essential for a ruler and therefore not acceptable to the Afghan nobility. His accession, therefore, was a triumph of personal accomplishment as opposed to the principle of heredity. Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi owed their succession to the support of the nobles. The same practice was observed by the Surd Afghans. Even Sher Shah, after his final victory over Humayun, had to seek the approval of his powerful nobles, before he sat on the throne. While accepting the offer of the nobles he remarked "The kingship is an exalted office and is not devoid of troubles; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me king, I agree." In the absence of a definite law governing succession to the throne, decision by a consensus of opinion, based upon personal fitness of a candidate was the only device to save the Sultanate from falling into the abyss of anarchy or oligarchy. "The Afghan monarchy was really the choice of the Afghan chiefs."

due to disputed succession, he did not work with prudence and caution. Like the early Tudor kings of England he adopted strict measures against the nobles. Their *jagirs* were resumed, they were deprived of special rights and privileges and were coerced into abject submission to the king. Unfortunately, Islam Shah did not realise that he was not armed with those powers, constitutional or otherwise, which had enabled the Tudor monarchs to get better of their barons. There was no representative assembly (atleast in form) of the type of British Parliament, through which royal 'ordinances' could be enforced against feudal chiefs. Nor did he possess exclusively for his own use any military equipment, or engine of war, which could have smashed the resistance of the rebellious nobles.

Besides the nobles, there were the ecclesiastics who posed a formidable problem for him. If admitted to the inner deliberations of the government they invariably proved a spoke in the wheel of progress; if kept out, they became a rallying point for the disgruntled and opportunists. Islam Shah's reign was particularly a time of religious commotion and ferment. The rise of the Mahdavi movement had created a great uncertainty in the minds of the Muslims and what was worst, it threatened to assume a political colour. Besides the illdisposed chiefs and unreliable religious leaders, Islam Shah had also to keep watch on the vast Hindu majority who had always been ill-disposed towards the ruling minority. Their political finesse, financial trickery and economic dominance created another handicap which circumscribed the actions and policy of Muslim kings and statesmen.

The king tried to face these problems with practical wisdom and sagacity. To bring the nobles to a sense of their real position, he concentrated all power into his own person. At the same time he was anxious to improve the social condition of the Afghans and for this purpose he introduced several measures to put a stop to social evils and corruptions, rife among them. These steps were bound to create unrest among the Afghans, who felt aggrieved at their degradation and loss of their exalted position in the government. Thoroughly discontented with the autocratic, exacting Sultan, they rose in rebellion in different provinces and wreaked vengeance upon his minor son, whom they deposed and killed. Thus the country was plunged into civil war and worst anarchy.

The reign of the last Suri king Adil Shah—regicide and usurper—withnessed a violent outburst of the feelings of dissatisfaction caused by the lyrannical policy of the autocratic Islam Shah, as well as the unwise acts and provocative treatment of Adil Shah. The weak and incapable Sultan was unable to deal with the tense situation, but, fortunately, he had a strong Hindu minister and commander-in-chief, in whom he fully confided. Hemu possessed great soldierly qualities and administrative capability, and it was with his help that Adil maintained his position on the throne, but the rise of a Hindu officer to the highest dignity in the state further embittered the proud Afghans and they began to nurse stronger sentiments of detestation and revenge against the Sultan.

Humayun, the exiled Mughul monarch, was hovering over the North-Western frontiers and looking for

an opportune moment to make an effort for the recovery of the lost Indian dominion. In the days of Sher Shah and Islam Shah he dared not launch upon this venture. The news of discord and disturbances in the time of Adil Shah emboldened him to try his luck. In 1554 he left Kabul and taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the North-West he captured Lahore—the Afghan governors and nobles fleeing before him to join the Sultan or seek shelter, wherever they could. In 1555 Humayun entered Delhi and sat on the throne and occupied Agra, while Adil Shah and his trustworthy Hindu commander, Hemu, who had assumed the glorified title Vikramaditya, were engaged in scattering hostile Afghan combinations. Humayun, however, died after six months, while his minor son Akbar was in the Punjab. Freed from his engagements and emboldened by the welcome news of the sudden death of Humayun and the accession of a minor prince on the throne of Delhi, he sent Hemu with a large force to drive the Mughuls from the imperial cities. Hemu defeated Mughul forces and compelled the Mughul governors of Agra and Delhi to flee and join the Mughul camp at Kalanur, where Akbar had been crowned king.

Hemu now prepared to meet the Mughuls, strengthened and recognised his forces for a final showdown. Adil Shah was still at Chunar. The Mughul army under Bairam Khan and with the boy prince Akbar also marched upon Delhi. At Panipat in 1556 the two armies met and the history of 1526 was repeated. A deadly conflict ensued. Hemu, a battle-scarred hero, and past master of military strategy, placed

at the head of an army far superior, numerically, to the adversary, gave a good account of himself in actual fighting. But the countrymen of Babar and their tough leader Bairam Khan were men made of a different and stronger stuff. Hemu's well-planned assaults were repelled, while Mughul attacks created severe breaches in Afghan ranks, which could not be repaired. In the midst of fighting, which was still wavering between success and defeat, Hemu got an enemy's arrow pierced into his eyes, which made him retire from the battle-field. The Afghan army was dispersed and the day was last. This defeat sounded the death-knell of Afghan supremacy in India, though they still held Malwa, Bengal and Bihar, besides other principalities, in their possession and for years continued to maintain independent national government in these provinces.

Babar, the founder of the Mughul empire, as we have seen, had very poor opinion of the Afghans; nevertheless, he adopted a conciliatory, and in some cases, even generous attitude towards them. Humayun followed in the footsteps of his father. But the Afghans had not forgotten the humiliation, they had suffered at the hands of the Mughuls, and would not agree to be reconciled to the foreign conquerors.

Under Akbar the situation worsened further. The Afghans persisted in their hostile attitude and resisted Akbar's attempts to extend the Mughul empire. But even in this moment of national crisis and in the face of a common enemy they were not disposed to sink their mutual dissensions and set their house in

order. Like a man on the point of drowning, they tried frantically to catch any straw that came handy to them, several Afghan nobles adopted the expedient of making a common cause with the Rajput Rana Partap, the inveterate enemy of the Muslims, and fought under him in the battle of Haldi Ghat against the Mughuls. Akbar made determined attempts to deprive the Afghans of whatever territory had still remained in their possession, and in this he fully succeeded. Bengal was the only province of importance which, as the last stronghold of the Afghans, continued to offer resistance to the Mughul onslaughts, till in 1576 by the defeat and death of the last Afghan ruler Daud Karrani, it was also annexed to the Mughul empire of Delhi. Thus was finally extinguished the last flickering ray of hope of Afghan revival in India!

Akbar's imperialistic instincts, combined with repeated provocations at the hostility of the Afghans forced him to throw himself into the arms of the Hindus, specially the Rajputs, with the result that the Afghans were treated with neglect in manning the state services, both in army and in civil establishments, while Hindus and Rajputs received special treatment.

Akbar gave a new turn to this policy and carried it to such an extent that it estranged not only the Afghans but all sections of the Muslim population. Sher Shah had confined his attitude of benevolence and toleration to creating *entente* between Hindus and Muslims and preparing a way for the growth of national unity, broad, based upon mutual love and loyalty to the

throne. He had taken particular care not to touch the religious susceptibilities of any class or group of his subjects, and for this purpose he had judiciously adhered to the principles of observing neutrality in religious matters. Akbar, under circumstances which are not clear, styled himself as final authority in religion and even made crude attempts to found a new religion. He was also further led to show open indifference to Islam, and to undertake certain legislation against the basic principles of the faith. This unbalanced mental attitude of Akbar brought serious, far-reaching consequences, but he escaped *nemesis*, which ultimately fell upon the grand and majestic empire, which he had brought into existence by his judicious, well-planned and constructive administrative reforms. But the responsibility of experimenting in the dangerous domain of religion was not entirely his; the Afghans must also share it, because it was their intransigence and intractability which forced Akbar to lean too much upon Hindus and foreigners.

The immediate effect of the unfortunate estrangement between Akbar and the Afghans was disastrous for the latter. Akbar's feelings were embittered and he lost all confidence in them. They were not recruited in services and even those who were taken in service were not entrusted with important and responsible jobs.

While Akbar was on death-bed, and his rebellious son, prince Salim the future Jahangir, was breathing in gloomy atmosphere of his royal father's displeasure, a conspiracy was formed by certain nobles of the court, including Maharaja Mansingh Kachawa of Jaipur, and

Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Koka, to deprive him of succession on Akbar's death, and to place Prince Khusrow, his eldest son, who was closely related to both the conspirators on the throne, in place of Jahangir. But Jahangir narrowly escaped falling victim to the conspiracy and was duly enthroned in 1605.

Jahangir started his reign by granting general amnesty to his opponents, and confirmed them in their offices. But the fact that, contrary to his father's policy, he placed his trust in Afghan nobles, who were promoted to high ranks, is an indication that his faith in the traditional loyalty of the Rajputs was shaken, and he felt the necessity of befriending the Afghans, for whom Akbar had no kindly feelings in his heart. His generous treatment of the Sisodia ruler of Udaipur, after the latter's complete defeat at the hands of Prince Khurram also is a pointer to the emperor's desire to break the monopoly of power and influence, which the Kachawas of Jaipur and other Rajputs, enjoyed in the imperial court.

Jahangir, however, scrupulously, and also as a matter of policy, refrained from any step likely to touch the national susceptibilities of the proud Rajputs, or alienate their sympathy with the Mughul throne. At the same time, as a prudent and far-seeing ruler, he adopted a conciliatory and generous attitude towards the Afghans, who were as good fighters as, and probably more efficient administrators than, the quixotic Rajputs. Unlike his predecessors, he was ever ready to reward the services of the Afghans with conferment of jagirs and titles.

His exceptional favours to Pir Khan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, is a clear evidence of the changed outlook of the Mughul emperor in regard to the Afghans. Jahangir gave him the title of Khan Jahan Lodi in 1607, raised him to the position of the highest noble in the empire, overlooked his many faults and short-comings and treated him like a brother. Even those Afghan leaders, who revolted in Eastern Bengal and were severely beaten, were not subjected to suffer the consequences of their rashness. On the other hand, they were accorded generous treatment; ranks and honours were restored to them in total disregard of their grave misconduct. Thus Jahangir's high-minded and imaginative policy led to the restoration and strengthening of the cordial relations between the Mughuls and the Afghans. But this *entente* did not last long.

In the reign of Shahjahan the sun of Afghan influence in the court of the Mughals set, not to rise again. Khan Jahan Lodi for a variety of reasons, none of which of convincing or impelling nature, had decided not to toe the line of Prince Khurram, the future Shahjahan, in the dispute for succession. Under-estimating the powerful support and strong backing, which the prince had been able to muster on his side in his struggle for succession, he threw in his lot, along with that of his Afghan followers, with the rivals of the prince. Khurram triumphed in the war of succession and was awarded with the title of Shahjahan along with the throne.

Shahjahan had resented the armed adventures of Khan Jahan and his confederates, but, once secure on

the throne, he had the good sense, like his father, to forgive the Afghans for their misbehaviour, raised the rank of Khan Jahan, and confirmed him in the governorship of the Deccan, and promoted other Afghan chiefs to offices of honour. Shahjahan after his accession to the throne followed the Afghan policy of his father.

But Khan Jahan had no faith in Shahjahan; he particularly disliked the growing influence, at the Mughal court, of Mahabat Khan and other rivals, who were inferior to him in many respects. Staying in Delhi, by the orders of Shahjahan, he brooded over the sad change in his position and lost faith in the assurances given by the emperor. Eventually, in 1629, he made the fatal decision of leaving Delhi, without the emperor's permission. This implied rebellion against Shahjahan who, however, was under no illusion regarding the designs and motives of the great Afghan leaders.

Being disappointed in any help from the ruler of Ahmadnagar, whom he had favoured at the risk of royal displeasure, Khan Jalan played for higher states—he revised Afghan struggle for political supremacy in India and proceeded to the Punjab to form contact with Afghan ruler. But the imperialists continued to press him hard while his own trustworthy Afghan followers began to desert him with every stroke of misfortune that befell him, in quick succession. At last in a keenly contested battle with the royalists on which he had risked everything including the lives of his brave and valiant sons, he fell dead in 1631, like a great soldier,

as he was. Nobody will grudge him a tribute for his valour and dignified bearing, in the face of danger, though his political foresight and sense of realism are open to doubt.

Khan Jahan's rebellion, as could be expected, led to the revival of the Mughal distrust and hatred of the Afghans. Though several Afghans were retained in the imperial service and they displayed great loyalty and heroism in conducting military campaigns or civil assignments with which they were entrusted in various parts of the empire, they hardly received any recognition of their distinguished achievements, and were deprived of their jagirs and titles on the slightest suspicion. Their position did not improve even in the reign of Aurangzeb. He did not hesitate to appoint Rajputs on responsible positions; but was not prepared to take Afghans into confidence. "The Pathans were never allowed to hold any of these posts (Governorships of fortresses) for fear that they may plot some treason, as they did to king Humayun".[15] hough sometimes compelled by military necessity, he took the Afghans into service, yet they were not accorded equal treatment with their compeers belonging to other sects and were excluded from festive occasions at imperial courts. Bahadur Khan Rohilla and Dilair Khan Rohilla, besides many other Afghan leaders, yielded to none of the Mughul and Rajput sardars of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb in rendering sincere and meritorious services to the throne, yet they failed to recover the confidence and trust they had lost, as a nation, in the eyes of the ruling Mughuls.

15.—Manucci Storia De Mogure p. 446 quoted by A. Rahim.

The political domination of the Afghans had ended with the fall of the Sur dynasty and their privileged position suffered a permanent set-back when Khan Jahan Lodi rebelled against Shahjahan and brought humiliation upon his nation by his defeat. But their achievements in the field of administrative reforms and cultural progress will ever remain a precious legacy, which posterity can never forget or lose sight of.

Sikandar Lodi, himself a scholar, established the tradition of patronising Persian poetry and literature and encouraging the spread of education. But real progress in culture and learning took place in the time of the Suris, specially in the reign of Islam Shah. It was a time of exceptional development in Islamic learning. Several scholars of outstanding merit flourished in India, while Persian poetry and music also recieved great impetus. What is surprising, Hindi literature and Hindi language also found, among the Sur Afghans, the most effective and zealous promoters. Hindi received court recognition when it came to be used in many offices side by side with Persian. Hindi poets, both Hindu and Muslim, were given liberal stipends and other honours.

The *Bhakti* movement, which was the result of the cultural and intellectual advancement of Hindus under the Afghans, played an important role in the religious and social life of the Hindus.

"The Sur Afghan period witnessed an unprecedented progress in Indo-Muslim music." Adil Shah was a master musician himself. His love of music

and patronage of artistes made Gwalior a centre of music . Art and architecture received great imeptus in his age.

Causes of the Afghan failure

The defeat and humiliation of the Afghan in 1526 deprived them of political supremacy in India. But with the coming of Sher Shah to power in 1540, their position was fully retrieved, and there began a glorious era of Afghan revival and political domination. During his brief, but memorable regime, Sher Shah, acting upon a policy, characterised by a happy combination "of caution and enterprise," tried to consolidate the political gains and succeeded in his mission surprisingly well. But his untimely death nipped his laudable empire-building work in the bud. His son, Islam Shah, who sat on the throne in 1545, of course, not without a fratricidal struggle, had inherited some of his father's great qualities, was successful, to some extent, in carrying out the constructive work begun by Sher Shah. But his obstinate adherence to the principle of privileged kingship and hostility to feudal and tribal rights and presumptions bred and fanned discontent, resulting in anarchy and civil war. To make the matters worse, Islam Shah was also not destined to enjoy a long life to complete the programme of his father for consolidating the Afghan empire. His death let loose forces of disintegration and disorder, which his successor Adil Shah Suri was too incapable and incompetent to contain. In his time the control over Kabul and the Punjab was lost and the Delhi king was deprived of manpower and finan-

cial resources, which had been the mainstay of the empire of Delhi and thus the Afghan resources were greatly weakened.

The Afghan nobles, too immersed in fishing in the troubled waters of current politics, and providing protection for their personal and particularist interests, had not the vision or far-sight to observe on the North-West Frontier the premonitions of a violent storm which threatened to break over their heads at any time.

The vigorous and formidable army of Sher Shah and Islam Shah had degenerated into an indisciplined mob and plunderous horde in the last days of the Sur dynasty. It was totally unfit to meet the disciplined body of the Mughuls, though in physical courage and personal valour they were not inferior to their adversaries. The result was that the Afghans suffered the irretrievable loss of their national supremacy over the sub-continent in the second battle of Panipat in 1556.

The reverses that fell to the Afghan arms were not so much the result of Mughul superiority in fighting qualities, as to the lack of inspiring leadership and national enthusiasm among the Afghans and also for want of proper understanding and collaboration among Afghan military leaders. This was, among other things, the inevitable consequence of the fact that Adil Shah, at this moment of national crisis, had chosen to appoint his Hindu favourite Hemu, the supreme commander of his forces. Hemu had served him most loyally and he had spared no efforts to create good

feelings among Afghan nobles for him. But he had foolishly assumed the title of the legendary Hindu king Vikremaditya, which clearly indicated his rising ambition for the throne of Delhi. His intentions and powerful ambition aroused the suspicion and jealousy of the proud Afghans, who detested serving under the command of a Hindu. This grave development created misgivings and distrust in the hearts of the Afghans, most of whom held aloof: "while even those, who actually joined the battle had not their hearts on winning it, because they feared it would prove more humiliating and disastrous."

The defeat in the second battle of Panipat had still left the Afghans in possession of sufficient political power in different parts of the Hind-Pak sub-continent, which they could have converted into a small but compact regional state, if they had only cast aside their mutual quarrels and factious fighting and combined their scattered resources. But it appears that true to their national drawbacks, they had taken no lesson from their varying fortunes in the course of their long and eventful history. Their vindictive nature, violence of temper and their pursuit for transitory gains in oblivion of vital national interests, made them most unreliable companions and treacherous confederate-in-arms. "It was Akbar's good fortune that his Afghan enemies were fighting and killing themselves and thus facilitating the establishment of his supremacy in North India." As a result, all Afghan strongholds, including Gujrat, Malwa and Bengal fell into the hands of the Mughuls and were incorporated in the mighty empire of Akbar.

As stated above the influx of the Rohillas had begun with the early invasions of Muslims through the historic passes in the North West of Pak-Indo Sub-Continent, but their settlement in the country started from the days of Bahlol Lodi, the first Pathan ruler of Delhi; and his successors. A resourceful and virile people, they acquired political domination, and even after losing their empire to the Mughuls, they continued to serve their masters in various capacities. Their influx received fresh impetus with the rise to power of Nadir Shah in the nineteenth century. His occupation of Persia and Kabul drove them to India, where immense oportunities for acquiring political influence and wealth awaited them, as a result of the progressive decline of the Mughul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The roving Afghan parties found in the district of Katehr, in the vicinity of Delhi, a territory, very congenial to them, bearing close climatic and scenic affinity to the hilly tracts of Roh from which most of them had migrated and which subsequently, when Rohilla domination was established, came to be known as Rohilkhand. A rich province of northern India, Rohilkhand has a belt of forest entirely without water, known as Tarai, which is full of tall reeds and grasses. The Rohillas found it an ideal place of shelter when pressed by enemies. Rohilkhand also afforded protection to the adjoining province of Oudh lying to its north-east, but an independent and strong Rohilla power constituted a grave menace to it[16].

16. See page-9. footnote-2.

Katehr, an ancient Hindu kingdom, was once included in the empire of Harsha Vardhan. It remained under the possession of Hindu chiefs long after the conquest of Badaun by Qutbuddin, Aiybak, in 1196. Iltutmish was governor of Badaun, in Katehr, before he was called to sit on the throne of Delhi. Bulbun, later on, invaded the province to quell insurrectons of the Hindus and to clear the land of robbers and dacoits, who had made the life of the people, specially the cultivators, miserable. The robber-infested areas were converted into peaceful abode and cultivable land. Jalaluddin Khilji, following the same policy, expelled the dominant, troublesome Rajputs from towns into forests and hilly tracts. The district had become a 'problem spot' particularly in consequence of the repeated Mongol inroads and widespread destruction caused by them. Badaun had thus acquired a great importance, and only men of marked ability, integrity and loyalty were selected to administer it. But Muslim domination did not last long. The Katehrya Rajputs recovered their hold and wielded power for a long time.

In 1379 Kharag Singh, head of Katehryas, murdered the Muslim governor and his brother. This treacherous offence aroused even a pacifist Sultan, like Feroz Shah Tughlak, to prompt action of retailation. He invaded Katehr in 1385 to punish the raja for his insubordination and committing ravages in the imperial territory. By the Sultan's command his officers converted the entire country into a hunting forest. Feroz also built a fort near Aonla or Ramnagar. But Kharag Singh had not yet given up his

lawless activities, and taking advantage of confusion and anarchy caused by Timur's invasion in 1398, he recovered his lost possessions and even reoccupied Aonla. He also managed to maintain friendly relation with the Sultan of Delhi. But his brother, Har Singh, who succeeded him revolted against Khizr Khan, the founder of the so-called Sayyid dynasty at Delhi, and it was not without great bloodshed that peace was restored and royal authority was re-established in Katehr[17]. Rai Har Singh made repeated attempts to recover the independence of his territory and carried fire and sword throughout the district, the chief victims of his depredations being those Zamindars and local chieftains, who had remained loyal to the Muslim rulers of Delhi. It was only in 1424 that as a result of desultory warfare the country became quiet.

After the death of Babar, when war broke out between Humayun and the Afghans, the Rajputs again made attempts to regain their hold upon Katehr. They succeeded, but only partially and temporarily. When Sher Shah assumed sovereignty over Delhi, he deputed his noble, Issa Khan, to punish the Rajputs. Issa Khan destroyed the Rajput forts and military centres and suppressed lawlessness. Sher Shah himself is said to have visited this district and captured the stronghold of Kabar, which was renamed as Shergarh.

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17. Sayyid Khizr Khan, who was habitually averse to bloodshed and fraudulent dealings, was compelled by combination of his powerful hostile nobles, to have recourse to a strategam to make an end of a large number of the nobles in whom was included a Rajput convert to Islam, named Qaim Khan, the founder of the well-known *Qaim Khanis*, found in Rajasthan (Bharat). Most of them have, after partition, migrated to Pakistan and settled down in Sind. They are, by profession and tradition, good soldiers and cultivators. Farishta, Tarikh-i-Qaim Khanis, Fakhr-ut-Tawarikh, Quarterly Alilm (April-July 1965).

The restoration of the Mughuls, under Akbar in 1556, brought peace and tranquility in the province, though occasional breach of peace and recrudesence of disturbances continued throughout the reigns of Akbar's successors. The district was made a charge of the suba of Delhi and divided into four *Mahals* or Parganas[18]. The imperial agents had to be, always, on the alert to deal with revolts and civil wars on the part of the *Rajputs*, the *Jhangars* and the *Ban-iaras*. After the death of Aurangzeb the situation further worsened as the Hindus tried to strengthen their position and re-occupy the land. But the Hindu Zamindars and chiefs began to fight among themselves and in their mutual quarrels they felt tempted to seek armed assistance from the Afghans, commonly known as Rohillas, who had swarmed into this area and settled down at different places in Katehr, particularly in the towns of Badaun, Aonla, Bareilly, Muradabad, Shahjahanpur, Bijnor and other towns.

An enterprising Rohilla leader, Daud Khan, adopted son of Shah Alam of the *Bahraich* clan of Roh, came to India in pursuit of horse trade at the end of Aurangzeb's reign probably in the year 1707.[19] Here in the prevailing disturbed conditions in and

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18. Bareilly Gazettier. P. 147-154.

19. Sir John Strachey says that Shah Alam had settled in Katehr in the later part of the seventeenth century and obtained from the Mughul Government service in the province.

"In 1720 Basharat Khan and Daud Khan two Rohilla Afghans came to India in quest of military service. They first joined the armed relations of the Hindu Chief of Seruli and later went to Moradabad and took service with Azmat Khan, the Governor of that place. Daud Khan, adopted son of Shah Alam, according to Forster, captured during one of his excursions a *jat* boy whom he adopted as his son and who later succeded him as Ali Muhammad Khan. This, however, does not appear to be ture, as more reliable accounts speak of him as being a Rohilla by birth"(S.A. Rashid) See also text p. 6—10.

around the imperial capital, he found that military career was more profitable and he began to collect arms and men and soon discovered his stock rapidly rising. His reputation as a resourceful military leader and organiser of victories spread throughout Katehr and his services were in demand among local Zamindars and land-holders, who were busy in the expansion and safeguard of their estates. The officers sent from Delhi to look after the affairs of the district were also helpless and needed the assistance of armed adventurers to maintain the semblance of royal authority and collect revenue from the disturbed areas. In fact, Aurangzeb's long absence from Delhi, during the last two decades of his life, to deal with the growing Maratha menace in the Deccan, aggravated by the weakness, intrigues and duplicity of the independent Muslim kingdoms of the south, had encouraged unruly elements in the north to raise their heads. The fratricidal wars among the incapable successors of Aurangzeb provided them with an eagerly looked-for opportunity to do away with the burden of royal authority. The imperial hold on provinces had slackened and local Zamindars and Rajas of the Doab and transe-Gangatic plains refused to honour the imperial *farmans* or pay tribute.[20]

20. Utter confusion prevailed in this area, as in other parts of India, after the death of Bahadur Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, in 1712. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar chaos was worst confounded by his policy of rapidly changing the Governors of Muradabad. He appointed in 1713, Itemadud Daula Qamruddin Khan as governor, but recalled him soon and sent his son Intizamud-Daula in his place as Governor. In 1716 Nizamul Mulk Chin Klich Khan was given the charge of Katehr with special commission to suppress disturbances which had arisen in this part of the country, Nizamul Mulk suceeded in restoring order, but he was recalled in 1718 and in his place a Kashmiri, named Muhammad Murad better known as Rukn-ud-Daula Iteqad Khan was appointed Governor of Muradabad. He was, however, soon removed from the post. After him Sheikh Azmatullah of Lucknow, as representative of Qamruddin, administered, the province and quelled some disturbances, particularly one under the leader ship of an imposter named Sabir Shah. But these quick changes led to weakening the hold of the Central authority.

Daud Khan's services were enlisted by local rajas for their protection from powerful neighbours or for aggression against weak rivals. Soon he rose to such prominence that the emperor of Delhi, Mohammad Shah, secured his help in an engagement against the Marathas, and as a reward for his brilliant success and meritorious services on this occasion, he got, besides royal patronage, some villages in the district of Bareilly. What is even more important, his reputation fast travelled home and drew a large number of fresh Rohilla sardars, who joined him with their followers. Some of them, like Dunde Khan, Fateh Khan Khansama, Sardar Khan and Abdus Sattar, rose to fame and honour in future. He also succeeded in establishing *entente cordial* with the Wazir Qamruddin, which proved of immense help to the Rohillas in future.

In pursuit of his career as a free-lance soldier and military leader, he enlisted himself in the service of Raja Deep Chand of Kumaun and met tragic death in 1724. Daud Khan combined in himself the qualities of determination and ambition, along with prudence and foresight. He left as his legacy, a nuclear Rohilla state and a young man of precocious nature, educated and trained by him like his own son to look after and develop his territorial heritage into an integrated Rohilla empire. And Ali Mohammad Khan was eminently fitted for this onerous task.

Ali Muhammad's origin, parentage and caste are thickly shrouded in mystery. His relation with Daud Khan is likewise an enigma. That he was not a

Sayyid, and this covetous honour was thrust upon him by interested historians under circumstances, not even remotely connected with history, is borne out by strong evidence.[21]

The version that he was originally a Jat or Ahir, (low caste Hindu), who incidentally fell into the hands of Daud Khan and caught his fancy also appears untenable in view of his character, habits, social and matrimonial connections. It fairly stands to reason that he bore the same relation to Daud Khan which the latter had to his adoptive father Shah Alam, and for building his career he followed in his footsteps. It is mentioned in several works on Rohillas that he had a son of his own, named Ahmad Khan. Even if it be true Ali Mohammad Khan impressed him so deeply with his sterling qualities of head and heart, that at the time of his death, when Ali Mohammad was only fourteen years of age, Daud felt no hesitation in ignoring his natural son, and leaving his will in favour of his promising adopted son, the brilliant Ali Muhammad. The Rohilla sardars, as was their practice, met in a council to discuss the question of succession and approved Daud Khan's nomination

21. Maulvi Najmul Ghani Khan, at the bidding of a Nawab of Rampur descendent of Ali Muhammad Khan, invented several geneological tables to connect his ancestors with the family of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) but subsequently he recanted. It is equally preposterous to aver that he was, by origin, a low caste Hindu. Many other accounts which are more veracious prove that he was an Afghan and was adopted by Daud Khan, who discovered marks of unusual intelligence and greatness in him, (Sea Hyat-e-Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

According to Strachey, "The author of Gulistan-i-Rahmat and the friends of Hafiz Rahmat were interested in maintaining the low origin of Ali Muhammad and in disparaging a family whose rights Hafiz Rahmat had usurped. On the other hand, the work from which Hamilton mainly derived his history was written by an adherent of Faizullah Khan, the son of Ali Muhammad, and he desired to give as much honour as possible to his master"

without making any reference to his real son. This decision confirms, on the one hand, the view that Ali Muhammad was Aghan by origin and on the other hand, rules out the probablity of the existence of his son, because in that case Ali Muhammad's succession, even if he had been nominated by his father, would not have secured unanimous consent of the proud Afghan tribal leaders.

Ali Muhammad Khan followed his predecessor's policy of ingratiating himself to the Wazir, Qamr-uddin Khan, and with his backing and even connivance he conquered and colonised Manauna and Aonla.[22] It was no doubt, a direct challenge to royal authority, but the Wazir, by his influence secured pardon for him and got him confirmed in possession of the new conquests. To further rehabilitate himself in the favour of the emperor Ali Muhammad joined the expedition sent from Delhi to punish Syed Saifuddin Husain Khan *Barha* and captured Jansa. He distinguished himself in the fight against the *Syed* so well that the emperor was pleased to confer upon him the title of Nawab and grant remission of revenue dues. Each new victory and imperial favour increased his reputation and prestige among contending groups and factions, as well as among the tribesmen of Roh.

Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, if he had been so disposed, would have easily joined the Imperial Court as a leading member of any of the rival parties and made a bid for Wazarat or any of the top—ranking

22. Aonla: It is the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in Bareilly district, Ali Muhammad Khan made it his resid ence after the assassination of the Katehrya Chief in 1730. (Bareilly Gazetteer)

positions, which used to attract men of intellect and high ambition. But the Nawab very wisely resisted this temptation and concentrated his full energy and resources upon the consolidation of the newly rising Rohilla power.[23]

But all his prudence and cautious conduct could no help him from coming into conflict with the Court of Delhi, which blazed a trial of unfortunate developments. His great rise to power and growing political influence was bound to create jealously among the wire-pullers of imperial politics, specially Nawab Safdar Jang of Oudh, who had more than one reasons to be afraid of Nawab Ali Muhammad's bright career in the vicinity of his own dominion, which he was trying to strengthen and extend at all cost. He particularly dreaded the Afghan leader's collaboration with his great rival Qamruddin[24], leader of the Turani party. He, therefore, prejudiced the emperor against him and persuaded him to lead personally an expedition against Nawab Ali-Muhammad Khan. The emperor fell in with the scheme of Safdar Jang and a strong army was set in motion for the expulsion of the Rohillas. The emperor, accompanied by the Wazir and Safdar Jang, marched at the head of the army and surrounded Nawab Ali Muhammad in his fortress named Bungarh. Ali Muhammad was forced to surrender and was taken to Delhi as a captive. Rohil-

23. Akhbarus-Saradid.
24. Nawab Wazir Safdar Jang and Shuja-ud-Doulah of Oudh were always suspicious of the growth of the Aghan power both at Aonla and Farrukhabad, and did not hesitate to coalesce with the Marathas, Jats and finally with the English for the destruction of the Afghan political supremacy in the dangerous approximity of their kingdom. The territories acquired by the Rohillas commanded the highways to Delhi, which it was the ambition of Safdar Jang to dominate. (History of Freedom Movement. P. 306).

khand seemed to have been lost to the Rohillas, who were expelled from their land and fresh immigration was stopped. But they were not fully subdued.

Ali Muhammad's followers also did not remain silent. He had recently invited Hafiz Rahmat son of Shah Alam, the patron of Daud Khan, with whose complicity or connivance Shah Alam was killed. Hafiz Rahmat was given a Jagir of twelve villages, and soon became his right hand in winning conquests upto the foot of the Himalyas, including Kumaun. Hafiz Rahmat taking advantage of confusion in Delhi and absence of a major portion of the imperial army entered Delhi and made a demonstration for the release of the captive Nawab. The Emperor Muhammad Shah, being totally unnerved by this armed intervention was constrained to give way and set Ali Muhammad Khan free. But he kept his two sons Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan as hostages at the court. In order to keep the dangerous Rohilla leader at a safe distance from the imperial capital, the emperor appointed him Foujdar of Sirhind, a very disturbed and troublesome, though strategically very important, district on the border of the Punjab.[25]

Ali Muhammad soon arrived at Sirhind and with his usual firmness and courage, as well as sincere Co-operation of his sardars, specially Hafiz Rahmat, forced the powerful rebellious landlords into sub-

25. From the account given in Gul-e-Rahmat it appears that the emperor had decided to entrust the district of Sirhind to the care of Ali Muhammad, but the issue of farman to this effect was delayed due to the intrigues of courtiers, specially Safdar Jang, whoes hostility to the Afghans was unconcealed. Hafiz Rahmat's expedition was meant to compel the emperor to confer the charge of Sirhind without delay. In this the Hafiz succeeded.

mission. His task was very difficult, as, besides keeping peace in the district, levying tribute and land revenue from recancitrant Jagirdars, he had also to deal with the risings of the marauding Sikhs, and to prevent inroads from beyond the north-western mountainous regions. But the Nawab succeded remarkably in the task assigned to him, with the result that the district was pacified.

His stay at Sirhind was, however, cut short when the news of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion arrived. The Delhi emperor realised the danger of keeping an ambitious Afghan leader in command of a very important place. It was feared he would feel tempted to join his countrymen. A report reached Delhi that the invader Ahmad Shah Abdali had actually written to Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan to join him with his followers. It was at this critical moment that Ali Muhammad left Sirhind and proceeded straight to Rohilkhand, where he recovered all his possessions and had no difficulty in winning the co-operation of the people. From the contradictory statements of historian, contemporary and modern, it is difficult to decide whether Nawab Ali Muhammad, on the approach of danger, deserted his post, or he was ordered by the emperor to return to Rohilkhand, in order to keep him away from the route of Abdali's invasion.[26]

26. An and Ram Mukhlis in his 'Safarnama' says that a report having been received in the court that Ahmad Shah Abdali has appealed Nawab Ali Mujammad to join the Afghan army at Lahore or Delhi, the emperor and Qamruddin after due consultation offered the Nawab the Foujdari of Bareilly. Dr. Azhar Ali, who has edited the 'Safarnama" has quoted in his introduction several Persian works to prove the correctness of this statement. But he is also not sure that there was any secret understanding between the Nawab and the Wazir-Page 81. Zikrus Sivar, Page 234-235, Badai-Wa-Waqai', Page 193. (*Contd. in next page.*)

The ease with which Ali Muhammad took possession of Rohilkhand and set up his Government at Aonla testifies to the success of his administrative measures and the respect which he commanded among the people of Rohilkhand. According to William Irwin "Prosperity and contentment reigned supreme in his dominion. His occupation of Katehr was a result of his courage, good nature, generousity, regard for his subjects and justice." "The fact that he lost no time in re-establishing his authority in his recovered possessions and began an era of reforms and reorganisation of which mention has been made in contemporary and subsequent works is a clear proof of his popularity and successful administration".[27] He continued to enjoy the goodwill of the Wazir which proved to be mutually good to both, as well as to the Mughul Empire.

The editor of the "Bareilly Gazetteer" has stated that the Nawab taking advantage of the general confusion marched into Rohillkhand where he had little difficulty in regaining his possession. This implies that he was guilty of an act of insubordination and treachery. Dr. Sir Jadoo Nath Sarkar has also declared the Nawab guilty of desertion. "Fall of the Mughul Empire" Vol. II. Page Mr. S.A. Rashid in his scholarly introduction to the English translation of Nooruddin's life of Najibud Doulah says that during the confusion that followed his invasion (Ahmad Shah Abdali's) he (Ali Muhammad) returned to Rohilkhand and soon regained his former possessions. He, thus, supports the above statement, though not in clear terms.

The author of 'Akbarus-Sanadid', a work, which, notwithstanding misrepresentation and distortion of facts at places is a classical work in Urdu on the Rohillas and the chief source of information on them, has discussed this question at length and examined almost all important source books on this subject, has refrained from formulating his own views on this question, but leads us to believe that Ali Muhammad was in correspondence with the Wazir on this affair and that on a secret hint from him he rejected the offer of the Afghan king, and left Sirhind for Rohilkhand without receiving any order from Delhi. The emperor was however, prevailed upon to acknowledge the *fait accompli*.

In this connection it should not be ignored that his two sons were still in the emperor's custody at Delhi and the Nawab, in his right senseses, could never have dared expose his sons to royal vengeance.

27. Gulshan-i-Bahar.

Ahmad Shah Abdali captured Lahore and advanced on Sirhind. The emperor of Delhi, Mohammad Shah, sent an army under the command of the Wazir Qamruddin, who was accompaned by the crown prince, the future emperor Ahmad Shah. The Wazir kept his stores and military provisions in the fort of Sirhind. Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan's two sons, who were with the imperial army, were also lodged there. Ahmad Shah besieged the fort. Qamruddin, while offering prayers in his camp, was struck by a cannon shot and died. His son Mir Munnu, in desperation, made a charge on the Afghans and forced them to retreat. Ahmad Shah Abdali left Sirhind taking with him the two sons of Ali Mohammad Khan to Kabul.

The repulse of Ahmad Shah Abdali by royal forces was the only achievement that fell to the lot of the Mughul arms against a foreign invader, after the death of Aurangzeb; though it hardly reflects any credit to the organization, streategy or *espirit de-corps* among Mughul generals and commanders, some of whom, like Raja Ishwari Singh of Jaipur, took to their heels while the battle was still in progress.

The success agaist Abdali was however, counter-balanced by the accidental death of Wazir Qamruddin, and while the army was on its way back to Delhi, news arrived that Emperor Mohammad Shah had also breathed his last. The Officers and nobles in the camp proclaimed the Crown Prince as emperor in 1748, under the title of Ahmad Shah.

The new emperor, Ahmad Shah, was confronted with the problem of the appointment of a new Wazir.

The choice lay between Safdar Jang, and Intizamud Doulah second son of the late Wazir Qamruddin. The pent-up feelings of hostility between the Iranian and Turanian factions flared up, threatening to aggravate a purely domestic affairs into a serious political issue. The emperor, his widowed mother and the powerful courtier Javed Khan favoured Safdar Jang, leader of the Iranian party. But not satisfied with the backing of a powerful court party and concealing his deep-seated aversion for the Rohillas he sent his agent to Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan to secure their help in the ministerial contest, making all sorts of promises in return, which, as future events showed, he had no intention of honourig. Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan, probably without paying adequate attention to Safdar Jang's appeals, welcomed the prospects of winning the favour of an influential party at the court.[28] Not physically fit to go personally to Delhi, he sent Hafiz Rahmat Khan with a strong Afghan contingent to help Safdar Jang. The Hafiz displayed great military and diplomatic skill in fullfilling his mission. Safdar Jang obtained Wazarat with his help. On his return to Aonla, he gave a very reassuring report to the ailing Nawab, who was on death bed. Fortunately, Ali Mohammad Khan did not survive long to repent for his hasty decision to back the wrong horse; but Hafiz Rahmat and the Rohillas had to pay dearly for it. The Nawab

28. According to the author of "Tarikh-e-Oudh", Moulvi Najmul-Ghani Khan, the Nawab desired to strengthen Rohillas affairs with the new king of Delhi through the friendly offices of Safdar Jang. Hence he promotly responded to Safdar Jang appeals for help. "Tarikh-e-Oudh", Part I, Page 137.

died on 17th. September, 1949.[29] Before his death he had made satisfactory arrengement for the administration and preservation of the infant Afghan dominion - a task which had been rendered difficult by the absence of his two eldest sons, Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, who were in Kabul. In conformity with Afghan practice and traditions, the Nawab, who had inplicit confidence in Hafiz Rahmat Khan and his cousin Dundey Khan, selected the former for looking after the business of the state, as guardian to his minor son Sadullah Khan, while Dundey Khan was given the office of Commander-in-Chief. Under the circumstances then prevailing, this was the best arrangement and all Rohilla Sardar hailed it.

Soon after the death of the Nawab, the Rohillas were confronted with a crisis, that threatened to knock the bottom out of their very existence as a respectable community in the Sub-Continent. Safdar Jang of Oudh, throwing the solem pledges of friendship with the Afghans to the wind, had recourse to Machivelian tactics to bring about the destruction of the

29. As in other particulars concerning his birth and career there is difference of opinion about the year of his death. The Gazetteer says that he died in 1748, which is clearly a mis-statement.

Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan has been commended by all historians and he certainly deserves it."

"A daring and enterprising soldier, a cautious and skill ful diplomat and prudent and wise statement, Ali Mohammad Khan well deserved the success he had". (History of Freedom Movement, Vol. I, Page 308).

"If Ali Mohammad Khan had lived longer he would have raised the country to a high degree of prosperity, for being altogether unmolested by other interference he employed his whole time in making certain wise and salutary regulations placing his army on a respectable footing and correcting and arranging different departments of government with a skill, which distinuished his character as much for his policy and prudence in the exercise of power, as in his preceding actions for the perseverance and enterprise by which power was acquired." Sir John Stratchey, "Hastings and the Rohlla War". page 15 and Hamilton "History of the Rohillas" page 87).

Afghans. Having failed in other attempts to humiliate them Safdar Jang resolved to sow the seeds of disunity among the Afghans themselves. He made Qaim Khan Bungush[30] play his game, "Observing that if he should be slain there would be one Afghan less, and if he succeeded the province would again become subject to the king." He, therefore, managed to send a royal Farman to Qaim Khan to take charge of Rohilkhand and expel the Rohillas by force, if they resisted royal command. "Qaim Khan had neither the courage to refuse nor the wisdom to see through the diplomacy of Safdar Jang". Discarding the saner advice of his counsellors and spurning the peaceful offers of Hafiz Rahmats who stooped to the level of humilitating himself for the sake of preserving peace among Afghans, he plunged into an unprovoked war against the Rohillas. Driven to extremity, the Rohillas fought with grim determination and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Bungush. Qaim Khan, with the flower of his army, lay dead at the battle field. The Rohillas annexed all *Parganas* east of the Ganges to their territory. They however, treated the vanquished, specially the mother of Qaim Khan, the brave-hearted Bibi-Sshiba, with great generosity and humane consideration.

Safdar Jang, the formenter of inter-Pathan hostility, openly rejoiced at the destruction of a powerful section of the Afghan nation, whose domination in the area, continguous to his own dominion, was a thorn in his side. He immediately occupied Farrukhabad, imprisoned the remaining brothers of Qaim Khan and locked them in the fort of Allahabad.

30. See text Chap. 9, pp. 50—57

He appointed his deputy Nawal Rai as the administrator of Farrukhabad. Nawal Rai invited Bibi-Sahiba on false promises and took her prisoner. He established a reign of terror throughout the Bungush territory. A younger brother of Qaim Khan, named Ahmad Khan, however, escaped falling into his hands.

When Nawal Rai, alongwith the plunder which he had acquired in Farrukhabad, and Bibi-Sahiba, left for Lucknow, Ahmad Khan appeared on the scene to redeem the fallen fortune of his co-nationals. Bibi Sahiba, who was kept in custody at Lucknow, secured her release with the help of a Hindu servant. Her sudden appearance roused the drooping spirit of the Bangash Afghans and they immediately rallied round her heroic figure. The Wazir sent orders to Nawal Rai to pursue Bibi Sahiba and bring her back as a captive to Lucknow. He also prepared to start with an army for the help of Nawal Rai and invited the Jat ruler Soorajmal to come to his assistance. But Nawal Rai was cut to pieces in a fight with the Bungush and Safdar Jang himself was defeated and wounded. Soorajmal left the battle-field. Ahmad Khan re-occupied Farrukhabad and resolved to conquer the entire Oudh. He himself proceeded to Allahabad to bring about the liberation of his captive brothers, and sent his son Mahmood Khan with an army for the conquest of Lucknow. The Rohillas in response to an appeal of Ahmad Khan for help against the Nawab Wazir marched for his assistance, forgetting the past misbehaviour of Qaim Khan.

The Nawab Wazir, Safdar Jang, recovering from his wounds sent orders to the Qiladar of Allahabad

to put all the captives to death. His orders were promptly carried out and all innocent Afghan prisoners were executed most atrociously. Not feeling himself strong enough to fight with Ahmad Khan he sent a petition to the emperor requesting him to invite the Marathas for help. To the credit of the weak-mineded emperor Ahmad Shah, it must be said that he at first refused his pernicious proposal, but, ultimately, he yielded to the persuasive and insinauting pleadings of the favourite Courtier Javed Khan. The Maratha army under the command of Mulhar Rao Hulkar, and Jayapal Sindhia, was, then, stationed at Ajmer. The emperor sent a Farman to them directing them to go for help of the Nawab Wazir against the Bangash. The Maratha leaders hailed the opportunity of thrusting the thin end of their wedge in the affairs of the Imperial capital and northern India. "From this onward, Delhi, the Punjab and the Doab became their happy hunting grounds and many of the troubles of the north Indian princes may be attributed to the failure to offer a united front to the northward flow of the devastating flood of Marathas invasion."

Thus with a grand and fully equipped army Safdar Jang and his Maratha allies proceeded to punish Ahmad Khan and his Afghans. Ahmad Khan was frightened at this formidable combination formed under the aegis of the Delhi emperor. He recalled his forces from all directions in order to defend Farrukhabad. He also appealed Hafiz Rahmat Khan to come to his rescue against a common foe. But the Rohillas, considering discretion the better part of

valour decided not to be drawn into the conflict. "The decision of Rahmat Khan and Dundey Khan to stay out of the fight and not to help Ahmed Khan was imprudent as well as unchivalrous[31]." But Nawab Sadullah Khan did not listen to the words of Hafiz Rahmat and other Rohilla Sardars and rushed at the head of an army for the help of Ahmad Khan. His lack of experience, his unripe judgment and dependence upon unworthy favourite instead of experienced, elderly persons. had foredoomed his rash adventure to failure. He suffered a defeat at the hands of Marathas and managed with difficulty to escape to Bareilly. Ahmad Khan Bangash was also defeated by the combined forces of the allies and took shelter at Aonla. The Marathas overran a great part of Rohilkhand, destroyed cultivation, subjected the people to great harrasment and plundered the country in a very systematic manner. "Fearing a large scale invasion of Katehr by the combined armeis..Hafiz Rahmat Khan despatched Afghan officers with their familes to Chilkiya, twntytwo miles north east of Kashipur[32]." Surrounded by enemies, the Rohillas had to undergo untold misery and privation. Their enemies also found themselves in an unenviable situation. Both sides were, therefore, anxious to make peace. The approach of rainy season and the alarming new of the threat-

31. 'History of freedom movement' vol. I P. 311. The author of Tarikh-i-Oudh is of the opinion that Hafiz Rahmat Khan, on deliberate consideration had realised that Rohilla intervention in the Oudh-Bungash dispute will not be beneficial to the Rohilla interests even in case of success. But he flouts the idea, supported by some historians that he held back because of the murder of Qaim Khan in the last war at the hands of the Rohillas and non-settlement of the blood-feud according to Afghan practice. "Tarikh-i-Oudh vol. 1.

32. History of Freedom movemen.

ened invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali forced the Emperor to ask Safdar Jang to return to Delhi. A settlement was therefore, made. The Rohillas were made to pay thirty lakh rupees, as price of peace. Ahmad Khan agreed to cede one-fourth of his possessions to Safdar Jang.

It is difficult to describe in words the havoc wrought by the Marathas in the course of this expedition in north India. But from their point of view, it was a singular national achievement to have intervened so successfully in the affairs of the Mughul emperor and independent Muslim rulers of the north. The Rohilla confederacy suffered further set-back from the thoughtless action and insubordinate behaviour of Sa'dullah Khan, which exposed the internal weakness of the Rohilla fraternity and showed that the Afghans were only superficially united.

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As the Marathas now seemed bent upon extending their forays to Northern India and increasing their role in the politics of Delhi, the Doab, Oudh, Bengal and the Punjab, it is desirable to describe in brief the circumstances leading to their emergence into power and political significance.

Shivaji, founder of the Maratha nation, succeeded, in the reign of Aurangzeb, while the latter was pre-occupied with important affairs in the north and had hardly any time to deal with the situation in the South, not only in uniting the scattered Maratha hordes into a nation; but also in founding an independent Maratha state in the Peninsula, which served

as a nucleous for the disaffected Hindu elements of the population to rally round. Himself a true representative and sponsor of resurgent Hinduism and brought up under the influence of ancient Hindu mythology and preachings of Hindu saints and reformers, he intensified the aspirations of the new Hindu generation, particularly in the Deccan. The main ideal before Shivaji was to weaken the Muslim states by armed raids and by means of financial exactions. He gathered armed hordes of Mavali desperadoes, exploited their religious and social conceptios, put before them the prospects of plunder and instilled in them deep hatred against the Muslim foreigners. He made a fervent appeal to the Marahta youths to come forward to defend cow and Dharam. The incurable rivalry and hostility among the rulers of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan and their jealousy and disloyalty towards the Mughul rulers of Delhi furnished the Marathas an opportunity to increase their influence and power. Fired by anti-Muslim feelings, the Marathas also took pains to set an example for other Hindus, both in north and south to rise in revolt against Muslim potentates and to throw off their yoke of allegiance. The Marathas carried fire and sword throughout the country and perpetrated inhuman attrocities, but they also spread the germs of Hindu national arrogance, wherever they went. The financial exactions under the name of *Chauth* and *Sardesh Mukhi* were calculated to strike at the root of Muslim governments and Society. The Bahamni kings and, later, the Sultans of the Independent Muslim States, which rose on the ruin

of the former, helped the Marathas increase their influence in the governments of these states and to receive training in administration and warfare. They became particularly adept in guerilla method of fighting. The Marathas thus got a unique opportunity of organising themselves into a compact body, prepared to play an important role in the internecine quarrels and factious-fightings which broke out among the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan.

Taking advantage of the pre-occupation of Aurangzeb in the north, the hostile attitude of the Deccan rulers, and their jealousy, and want of loyal feelings for the Mughul occupants of the Delhi throne, Shivaji crowned himself as an independent ruler in a characteristically Hindu or Vedic style which seemed to have thrilled the entire Hindu population and to revive the dream of a *Hindu Pad Padshahi* in India. His immediate successor fostered and energetically pursued his national ideal. But Aurangzeb, who had a wide and intimate experience of the Deccan affairs, where he had spent many years as governor and won his spurs as a constructive administrator, succeeded in driving a wedge in the Maratha confederacy by making Shahu, Shivaji's grandson, a Mughul creature. Shivajis ideals completely disappeared by the time Aurangzeb died in 1707. Thus the emperor's activities in the Deccan for a quarter of a century had not been without definite gains. But after the death of Aurangzeb's son Bahadur Shah, in 1712, his incapable successors, their worthless courtiers, and short-sighted, self-conceited self-seeking ministers and generals failed miserably to check the growth of the Maratha power

in the Deccan and in northern India also. Indeed, it was their intrigues and flirtations which brought the Marathas under the walls of Delhi and encouraged them to intervene decisively in Imperial affairs[33].

"Thus during the 50 years following the death of Aurangzeb the growth of Maratha power was such that it seemed destined to overthrow the whole of India. There was hardly a province between the Himalayas and the Southern extremity of the Peninsula which had not either been occupied or involved or from whih it had not expected trouble. The Marathas preferred an organized system of spoliation and their sole object seemed to be plunder and ruthless destruction".[34] But wherever they went even if they failed in winning battles and territories, they prepared the ground for the local Hindus to rise against their Muslim rulers. They also instilled feelings of hatred against the Muslims. The Sikhs in the Punjab would not have felt so infuriated against the Muslims, if the Marathas during their occupation of the Punjab for more than a year had not influenced them by their example. It was the hatred of the Muslims created by the Marathas in Bengal by their continuous raids for ten years, which prompted the Hindus of the Eastern province to organise a conspiracy in collusion with the British to start a revolution in order to set up a foreign imperial regime by driving away the Muslims. 'But for their clandestine political moves Clive would not have won the battle of Plasey, four years before the third battle of Panipat, which

33. 'Bulletien of the Deccan Research Institute'. Nos. 3-4, p. 362-363.
34. Sir John strackey Hastings and the Rohila War'. Chapter, 1,

laid the foundation of the British empire in India. A Maratha historian has correctly summed up the Maratha position thus "The Marathas broke their own legs and burnt their own fingers over this affair (devestation of Bengal) while the men to profit were the foreign English[35]." The anti-Muslim feelings, excited by Shivaji and his successors, are still burning into the hearts of the Marathas.

Unfortunately, the warring political leaders and local governors in Northern India felt no qualm of conscience in betraying national interests of the Muslims by joining hands with the Marathas and encouraging them to strike at the very root of the Mughul authority. Syed Hasan Ali, one of the Syed brothers, recognised the Marathas as co-partner in the revenue of imperial provinces, and in 1717 the Emperor of Delhi was persuaded by his worthless counsellors to grant them the right of collecting tribute or *Chauth* from the states of southern India. In 1753 as already mentioned the emperor himself on the instigation of Safdar Jang, invited the Marahtas to chastise the Bungush and the Rohilla Afghans and thus paved the way for the rapid growth of political influence of the southern people in the north. They followed this initial success by occupying Delhi and the Punjab in 1757 and making no secret of their plans to establish universal Hindu Sovereignty in place of the weak and rapidly declining Mughul Empire. "Their power, says Elphinstone," was at this time at its zenith Their frontier 'extended on the north to the Indus and the Himalayas and in the south nearly to the

35. Bulletin of the Deccan Research Institute.

extremity of the Peninsula. But this extention of the Maratha influence did not make way for any improvement in the social and economic condition of India, much less contributing to the political stablity of the country. Grant Duff, the great historian of the Marathas was compelled to say that, "the extention of the Maratha sway carried no freedom even to the Hindus, and it rarely brought protection or improved the habits and conditions of the vanguished". The Muslims were at last roused to the gravity of the danger which was encircling them, and by the year 1760 they were perilously poised for a final armed settlement with the Marathas, as will be described shortly.

Hafiz Rohmat Khan, taking leave from Safdar Jang after peace in 1752 returned to Headquarters and set himself, forthwith, to the task of re-claiming the country from the ravages caused by the Maratha invasion. He carried out much needed reforms in the police, land revenue and judicial administration. By his vigilance and strict control over local officials he provided safety of life and property and facility for trade and avocation to the common people. In villages life had been greatly uprooted and land was thrown out of cultivation during the disturbed period of Maratha occupation. The government of Rohilkhund had consequently been hard hit economically and financial losses had thrown the administrative machinery out of gear. The tribal chieftains and Hafiz Rahmat in consultation with other leaders sought remedy to this evil by abolishing old Parganas or reducing them in size, while many new land owners

or assignees were added, which does little credit to his skill and ingenuity, because it implied further fragmentation of the land among Afghan leaders on the basis of feudalism.

While in the midst of the work of reorganisation, Hafiz Rahmat was confronted with a more serious problem created by the return of the two elder sons of the late Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan - Abdulla Khan and Faizullah Khan - from Kabul where they had been kept as hostages since 1748. Ahmad Shah Abadali, the ruler of Afghanistan, thought it expedient probably on political considerations, to release them in 1754 and send them back to Rohilkhund. Hafiz Rahmat Khan offered to resign in order to make place for Abdulla Khan. But the nobles were opposed to this, in view of the young prince's youth and inexperience and because there was little love lost among the brothers.

It will be remembered that the political arrangements made on the death of the late Nawab and the circumstances which had brought Hafiz Rahmat Khan to the helm of Rohilla affairs, though fully in keeping with the time honoured Afghan traditions and practice, did not carry with them the sanction of legitimacy. The question of successin now cropped up again and instead of facing it with practical wisdom and imiginative statesmanship, the Hafiz tackled it as if it were a matter of mere transitory importance. He gave a wider application to the principle of division of land in order to accommodate sıoɥɐɔǝl ɯıfthe legal heirs of the late Ali Muhammad Khan. Simul-

taniously, he granted more concessions to the tribal Afghan leaders. When troubles rose again in consequence of rivalry and jealousy among the young Princes Hafiz Rahmat repeated his experiment.

It is a pity that the Hafiz could not foresee the ruinous political consequnces of his policy. Mr. Altaf Ali Barelvi, the author of this book, rightly calls it a political blunder and takes the Hafiz to task for not implementing literally the will of the late Nawab against handing over the Rohilla state to a handful of Afghan feudal lords, instead of conserving it under a strong, centralized leadership of the type of the Maratha peshwaship, which enabled the Maratha military leaders to achieve national unity and win remarkable successes in northern and southern India. Hafiz Rahmat, unfortunately, failed to devise an improved system of government, better calculated to serve the ends of the nation. But whatever step he took for the pr. servation of the Rohilla dominion, he was actuated by the fairest motives and best intentions. There is no strong evidence to show, as has been alleged by some critics, that he was preparing for the prolongation of his own family in total disregard of the interests of his deceased patron and his descendents[36]. As regard the *nemesis* said to have overtook him and his family for his so-called ungrateful deeds it should be borne in mind that even Ali Mohammad Khan's family placed in authority, could not have shielded itself from the vindictive and aggressivedesignes of Shuja-ud-doula, the Marathas or the foreigners.

36. See Text P-80.

Hafiz Rehmat was soon called upon to take part in imperial politics. A quarrel arose between the emperor Ahmad Shah and his chief minister Safdar Jung, which developed into open fighting. Both parties tried to rope in the Rohillas on their side. But the Rohilla leaders, on weighty considerations, decided to remain neutral. Unfortunately, this led to a rift among the Robillas themsevles. Najib Khan, the future Najib-ud-doula, who had recently joined the Rohillas was prevailed upon by the Delhi agents to join the imperial army against Safdar Jung and he agreed to visit Delhi with his followers. Coming after the episode of Sadulla Khan's precipitate action against the Marathas Najib's defaction showed that all was not well in the state of the Rohillas. Hafiz Rahmat took a serious view of this matter, which portended a national crisis and a serious rift between him and his right-hand man Dundey Khan, the father-in-law of Najib. Throughout his brilliant and remarkable career particulary in the post-Panipat decade Najeeb-ud-doula failed to heal the wounds inflicted by his hasty action on Rohilla solidarity. It did good to himself, but the Muslims as a nation were made to suffer. A united front under the leaders of the calibre of Najib and Hafiz Rahmat, was most essential for the fulfilmenl of the politico—spiritual mission and revivalists efforts of Shah Waliullah[37].

37. Shah Waliullah, the calebrated Muslim divine and reformist was deeply touched by the growing administrative and economic detereoration spreading all arround in consequence of the weakness of central authority at Delhi. He initiated a humanitarian movement broad-bosaed upon common good of all commenity. But since Muslims were the ruling race and the Hindus as a whole had made them the target of their bloody vengeonce Shah Sahib realised that national and religious revival of Muslims the only way to im-

(Continued on next page29.)

THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT

The weakness of the Mughul Empire had encouraged people in all parts of the sub-continent to rise in rebellion and openly challange the central authority. The Marathas had risen to political prominance in the time of Aurangzeb and they now found a good opportunity, as already stated, to interfere in the politics of Delhi.

But the rise of the Maratha influence in northen India synchronised with the establishment of a strong Afghan kingdom in Kabul under Ahmed shah Abdali. Ahmed Shah was the son of Zaman Khan. He was enlisted in the army of Nadir Shah and during the latter's invasion of India, Ahmad Shah impressed Nadir Shah by his military skill and good generalship so much, that Nadir appointed him commander of a contingent of his personal Guards. On Nadir's murder in 1747, Ahmad Shah returned to Qandhar and was elected by a council of his kinsmen as the king of Afghanistan. His family was known both as Abdali and Durrani. Soon after his cornoation in October 1747 he began organising his Government on solid basis.

Shortly after his coronation Ahmad Shah began a longs series of invasions on the Indo-Pak sub-continent.[38]

The Maratha aggression in northern India, as a counterblast against the prestige of Muslims rulers and Islamic institutions was assuming threatening aspect. The selfish and unscrupulous courtiers

prove governmental machinery and ensure public weal. He selected Najib-ud-Dulah and Ahmad Shah Abdali for spearheading this reform movement. (Shah Waliullah ka Siasi Maktubat by Khaliq Ahmed Nizami. PP 21-24).

38. He made light invasions.

and high dignitaries at Delhi, like Safdar Jang and Imadul mulk were helping the Marathas in their hostile activities against the Muslims. Ahmed Shah fully realised this situation, but in the beginning he was compelled to adopt the same methods which Nadir Shah and other invaders from the North-west had had recourse to. He did, not a little, to undermine the basis of law and order in the imperial city, destroyed many lives, and property and subjected the helpless common people to great misery, Muslims not excepted.

But when the Marathas presented a direct challange to the society, culture and religion of Islam, and openly declared their intention of supplanting the effete muslim sovereignity in India, Ahmad Shah Abdali, with the cooperation of a few muslim rulers like Najibud-doula, Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohilla, and Ahmad Khan Bungush made up his mind to punish the Marathas for their audacity. Najibud-doula, wazir at Delhi, was forced by the combined forces of his rival Imadul mulk and his allies, the Marathas, to leave Delhi and seek shelter in his own territory in Rohilkhand. But he was sourrounded and besieged at Sukkurtal and was on the point of surrendering when Ahmad Shah Abdali marched into India, at the head of an Afghan force, to help him. First, he expelled the Marathas from the Punjab which they had occupied. The Marathas fled in confusion from the Punjab. Ahmad Shah crossed the Indus and hastened to Delhi. Dattaji, the Maratha leader, was defeated and killed when he tried to check his advance. Another Maratha sardar Mulhar Rao Hulkar suffered a serious reverse at Sikandara. Najibud-doula was consequ-

ently freed from Maratha grip and was soon busy in trying to organise a strong muslim confederacy against the Mara'has under the leadership of the Afghan king.

The news of the terrible defeat of the Marathas, reaching Poona, greatly upset the Peshwa Balaji Rao. He at once collected a huge Maratha army to send to northen India to avenge the humiliation suffered by his co-nationals at the hands of the Afghans. The Peshwa's cousin Sadashive Rao Bhao was appointed the Commander of this expedition, and along with him was sent Peshwa's son Vishwas Rao, a young man of 18, as a nominal Commander-inchief of the Maratha army. The inclusion of Peshawa's son in the expedition is considered, by some historians, a step taken to make him available for occupying the throne of Delhi when the Mughul rule had been brought to an end, which is believed to have been the chief aim of the Peshwa in despatching his formidable army. Among the Muslims Najibud-doula alone had the vision to realise that the Marathas were actually the champions of Hinduism against the Muslims, whom they were taught to look down as *unclean*. The great muslim sage and savant Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi undertook to awaken the Muslims to the great danger which hung upon their heads, and arouse them to action. Najibud-doula caught the spirit of Shah Wali Ullah and convinced his Afghan followers of the necissity of accepting the challange of their national enemy. Shah Wali-ullah also wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali to come for the help of the Muslims in their sad plight.

The great Maratha expedition advanced northward, being strengthened on the way by addition of big contingents of the Rajput, Pindaris, jats and 'irregular troops of all descriptions'. The Hindus were thrilled at the sight of this magnificant army and felt jubilant at the approaching day of the realisation of their long cherished dream of setting up Hindu sovereignity in their country. Soorajmal Jat also joined the Marathas with his 30,000 men.

With the muslims of the sub-continent, however, the case was different. Abdali had to encounter serious obstacles in the course of his march to Delhi. Shujaud-doula and Imadul mulk were either intriguing against their own brethern or trying to keep the Marathas in good humour, because they were not fully confident of muslim victory. Najibud-doula and the Rohilla Sardars were sincerely attached to the Abdali, yet they had to keep their eyes on the clandestine moves and clever political tactics of Shujaud-doula, Imadul mulk and other crfty politicians and higher-lings who infested the Delhi Court.

The Bhao decided to capture Delhi first and then to engage the Afghan invaders. Accordingly, by his order Malhar Rao Hulkar, with the help of Imadul mulk attacked Delhi on 22nd July 1760 and occupaied it without much difficulty. But they encountered tough resistance in capturing the fort, where Yaqub Ali Khan qiladar, with his small garrison put up a strong defence. The fort was besieged and was heavily bombarded by the Muslim commander of the Maratha artillery, Ibrahim Khan Gardi. The conduct of

the Maratha leaders on this occasion clearly indicates what their ulterior motive was and what they would have done with everything Islamic if they had come out of the subsequent battle at Panipat with flying colours. Bhao's vanity increased further with the conquest of Delhi and he now began to talk openly of establishing a Hindu Empire in India and even made ready to instal an idol at the *Juma' Masjid* of Delhi. Sooraj mal Jat, gave him very constructive advice on the methods of his fighting against the Afghans and as regards his intentions concerning the disposal of the Mughul throne. But Bhao in his vanity hurled back the sound advice upon the face of the Jat ruler which disguested him so much that Sooraj Mal secrelly slipped away and returned to his state.

When the rains were over Bhao set off from Delhi. A few miles north of Delhi the Marathas stromed an Afghan force at Kunjpura through the treachery of an Afghan leader and put every Afghan in the fort to sword. In the meantime Ahmad Shah Abdali unexpectedly reached Baghpat. By his swift-action and masterly stroke he placed himself between his enemy and their base. The Marathas attacked the Afghans but were repulsed with heavy loss. Bhao was forced to fall back and throw himself in the small village of Panipat, where he entrenched himself and dug a ditch in front of his army. Ahmad Shah could not be provoked to attack the Marathas and he also sourrounded himself by fortifications at some distance from the enemy. Bhao did not listen to the advice of experienced Maratha leaders, who sug-

gested to adopt the methods of traditional gurilla fighting. He relied more upon the counsels of Ibrahim Khan Gardi, the great muslim gunner who had to bear the full brunt of the battle. The Marathas, as a result of the superior generalship and military strategy of Ahmad Shah, had lost initative in the battle, but Ahmad Shah was also in an unenviable position, mainly owing to the difficulty in securing provisions, but more particularly due to want of loyalty and unity of purpose among his allies.

Shujaud-doula was still wavering and his agents were hobnobbing in the Maratha camps. He was, at the same time, pressing the Afghan king to open negotiations for peace with the Marathas. But Najibud doula was fully determined to stake everything on a final trial of strength with Hindus to decide the fate of the country. By his impressive personality, convincing arguments and readiness of sacrifice of every kind Najibud-doula overbore the opposition of Shujaoud-doula and forced him to join the struggle. Shujaoud-doula was not sincere in his dealings and even in the thick of fight he did not bring in his army for action until he was fully convinced that the Marathas were not going to win the day.

Ahmad Shah, a consummate general and a great strategist kept a vigilant eye on every detail of the battle and detected swiftly and unerringly every shortcoming or defect in the disposition and movements of the Maratha troops. Hafiz Rahmat Khan could not play a leading role owing to the death of his mother. But his son Inayat Khan and other Rohilla

youths performed remarkable feats of arm and personal bravery, which spread consternation among the Marathas.

Ahmad Shah by the heroic exploits of his Afghan followers performed at his bidding deprived the Marathas of the bases of securing provisions, while the Afghan difficulty on this score was solved by their daring action. The Marathas, consequently, were driven to extremity and could no longer keep themselves behind entrenched positions. There was still divergence of view about fighting a pitched battle with the Afghans or with drawing their best fighting forces to the Deccan. Bhao and Ibrahim Khan Gardi were, however, in favour of engaging the Afghan in a decisive battle. On ganvary 13,1761 Ibrahim Khan led a frontal attack upon the Afghans. Shah Wali Khan, the Afghan Prime Minister, who commanded the centre was locked in a life and death struggle. He soon found himself in a desperate condition and he sent fervant appeals to Shujaoud-doula to rush to his assistance. But the latter remained an inactive spectator at the head of his followers, trying to calculate chances of the success of the combatants. The left wing under Najibud-doula was very active. He conducted operations in a bold but calculated way. The fighting continued from dawn till midday, the Afghans facing a dangerous situation. At this critical moment Ahmad Shah brought up his fresh reserves, sent 10,000 men to help Shah Wali Shah and ordered his mounted infantry to fire into the close ranks of the enemy. This formidible counter-attack, which was excellantly

timed, decided the fate of the battle. In the afternoon, Vishwas Rao was mortally wounded. Bhao continued the fight some time longer.

"At once as if by enchantment, the whole Maratha army turned their back and fled at full spead, leaving the field of battle covered with the heap of dead". The victors gave them no quarter and the ditch was soon littered with dead bodies. The plunder acquired by the Afghans from the Maratha camp was beyond calculation. Bhao died fighting gallantly. His dead body, as well as that of Vish was Rao was cremated according to Hindu retes. The news of this defeat conveyed to the Peshaw by a mysterious letter written in bussiness language broke his heart and he passed away soon.

The battle of Panipat is one of the decisive battles in history. Elphinston says "Never was a defeat more complete and never was there a calamity that diffused so much consternation, grief and despondency spread over the whole Maratha people—most had to mourn relation and all felt the destruction of the army as a death blow to their national greatness".[39]

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39. A Russian writer has accused Afgans of delaying the establishment of settled authority in Delhi by sustaining the crumbling authority of the Mughuls. (Vide-to Mediaeval India quarterly Aligarh Muslim Universlty 1950) He seems forget that the battle of Panipat which aestroyed Maratha pretentions was not of their seeking. It was thrust upon them by Hindus, and Afghan had to accept the challenge in self-defence.

THE ROHILLA WAR

The Marathas, driven back to the Daccan in 1961, did not recover from the stunning defeat in the battle of Panipat for a long time. But in 1769 they once more recrossed the Narvada under the leadership of Madhaji Scindia, a soldier-statesmen of great ability, who had escaped alive, though with a borken leg, from Panipat. He opened negotiations with the emperor Shah Alam, living then at Allahabad, as a pensioner of the British East India Company, and persuaded the latter to return to Delhi. The Scindia offered the imperial throne and title to the emperor. Shah Alam welcomed the Marathas offer, though the British warned him against placing reliance upon the Marathas. Shah Alam left Allahabad in May 1771, and escorted by the Scinida and his soldiers, entered Delhi. But soon he found that he was no better than a prisoner in the hand of Marathas, who forced him to make over to them the districts of Kora and Allahabad, given to the King by Clive in return of the Devani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, conferred upon the Company in 1765. Hastings, Governor of Bengal, rethaliated by stopping, forthwith, the tribute of Rs. 26 lakhs annually, which had not been paid to the emperor for some time. On the other hand he restored in 1772 the two districts to the Nawab Oudh for a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs.

When indicted later for these unjust and highhanded transactions, Hastings, in defence of his con-

duct, boldly said that "We make him (Nawab Oudh) more dependent upon us, as he is more exposed to the hostility of the Marathas........and we acquired a net sum of 50 lakhs of rupees most seasonably obtained for the relief of the Company's necessities"[40] This cynical admission is tanta month to a clear confession of the moral crime committed by Hastings on commercial consideration.

In 1772 the Marathas invaded and ravaged Rohilkhand. Najib-ud-doulah's death had removed the only powerful Muslim ruler whom the Marathas greatly feared. They easily defeated his son Zabita Khan, who had none of the brilliant qualities of his great father, and occupied all his territory The Rohillas, who were the main target of the Maratha aggression, did not present at that time a united front. In words of Hamilton, "Notwithstanding the very advanced age of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, he still, perhaps, possessed sprit and abilities sufficient to have enabled him to bear with success the great weight thrown upon his shoulders; had any tolerable degree of harmony subsisted among the leading members of their community; but that unanimity which alone could render them formidable now no longer prevailed among them........In addition to total defect in mutual alliance and general cooperation many other circumstances concurred to weaken the power of the Afghans at this period"[41]. Zabita Khan had been drawn off from their interest and the death of Ahmad Khan Bungush left Farrukhabad in the hands of a weak and

40. S.J. Strachey, '*Hastings and the Rohilla War*' Page.
41. Hamliton P. 209

ignorant young man. 'The turbulent sprit of the Afghans could not long submit to strict control which was necessary to maintain discipline in the Government'.

Oudh also was not safe from Maratha depredations, while the English were equally alarmed. They were, therefore, anxious to keep the Marathas away from Oudh and 'to ingeigle the Nawab Wazir under their umbrella of protection'.

Having no other ally or supporter the Rohillas thought of securing the help of Shuja-ud-doula, who was fully interested in checking the common national foe. Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Zabita Khan, therefore, implored Shuja-ud-doula to save them from the Deccan peril. But Zabita Khan was more interested in the release of his family, which had fallen into the hands of the Marathas than in the deliverance of the nation. Shuja-oud-doula was fully alive to the danger that hung over the his head. The Marathas, according to Sir John Strachey "made no secret of their intention to carry their operation in Oudh, where they would find..........ample opportunity of retaliation on the Wazir for their past injuries".

Unfortunately, neither Shuja-ud-doula nor the Afghans could plan the forging of a strong combination to tide over the national crisis. The muslims of northen India would have rallied round them just as they did a decade ago under the banner of Ahmad Shah Abdali. A letter written by Calcutta authorities to the Madras Government contains some

significant passages which *interal.a* show that there were several Muslim Princes in India whose extent of territory and consequence in the empire should lead them to combine their strength and prove a counter balance to the Maratha power, if they could be brought to one general plan for the security of the whole; but they were divided, irresolute and incapable of taking any effectual measure to arrest the pending danger. The letter laments that "We have stimulated the Wazir to undertake in conjunction with the Rohillas some thing of sufficient importance. The Wazir will do nothing. On contrary, he put his reliance upon Warren Hastings and suggested that he should persuade the Rohillas to attack the Marathas and take his advantage of both when they should have weakened each other by mutual hostilities[42].

After a good deal of intrigues, crooked diplomacy and deceitful exchanges the Rohulas and the Nawab Wazir concluded a treaty of alliance on 17th June, 1772. Sir Robert Barker of the East India Company played the role of 'an honest broker'. The Rohillas agreed to pay the Nawab forty lakhs of rupees if he forced the Marathas to retire from their country.

In the spring of 1773 the Marathas re-entered Rohilkhand. The Nawab of Oudh made a show of armed intervention to save the Rohillas. But before an armed clash actually occured, the Marthas had recrossed the Ganges on receiving a disquieting report of a political revolution in Poona. The Nawab Wazir

42. This letter qouted by as J. Struchey shows the cunning and duplicity of the English and their insidious at tempts to set Muslim rulers by the ears. It also lays bare the criminal intentions of Nawab Wazir against Rohillas.

promptly demanded from the Rohillas the stipulated sum which the Afghans refused to pay on the plea that the Marathas had withdrawn for reasons of their own and might reappear next year, because they were not defeated by the forces of the Nawab in a pitched battle. It is difficult to approtion blame on the parties with strict regard to justice and fairness, but as later events showed tragically, Hafiz Rahmat Khan should not have insisted on non-payment of an agreed sum, when the destiny of a nation was at stake and political expediency demanded that the the reputation of the Afghan leaders for fair dealings should be fully established in the eyes of his political rivals and national enemy.

Warren Hastings had pinned his faith on Oudh alliance and had made up his mind to use the good offices of the Nawab to create a barrier, against the Marathas and ingratiate him by sacrifising the entire Rohilla nation and handing over their territories to the ally, which would, on the one hand, make him more dependent and subservient to the English, and also close their border against Maratha aggression. These plans were discussed in the conference held in 1773 between Hastings and the Nawab Wazir at Banaras. Besides other important matters settled there, a secret agreement was also signed by which the British agreed to furnish a brigade to help the Nawab punish the Rohillas for non-payment of forty lakhs of rupees, to conquer their country and incorporate it with Oudh. In return, the Nawab was to bear all the expenses of the campaign and also pay a sum of forty lakhs to the Company.

Hastings, besides his eagerness to liquidate the Rohillas to oblige Shuja-ud-doula, was attracted to the proposal by consideration of providing pecuniary relief to the Company. The addition of the conquered Rohilla territories to the Oudh kingdom will also tighten the strings of vassalage of the Nawab Wazir by exposing him to aratha Mhostilities. Hastings was not much concerned with the moral aspect of the political deal. He tried to silence his docile conscience by the wishful thinking that, in reality, the need of lending British forces for an unprovoked and unjustified conflict, will never arise. Shuja-ud-doula also had his own doubts about financial committments which he thought he would not be able to fullfil. He, therefore, declined the conditions laid down. But a fickle-minded man as he was, he wrote on 3rd. Feb., 1774, a letter to Warran Hastings asking for the despatch of a brigade to destroy the Rohillas. The army was sent under Colonal Champion and joined the forces of Shuja-ud-doula at Shahabad. Shuja-ud-doula sent an envoy to Hafiz Rahmat to make a formal demand of immediate payment of the promised sum of forty lakhs of rupees. Simultanously he was busy in winning over to his side Rohilla leaders, the frustration and moral degradation, prevailing in the Afghan camp, encouraged him. Hamilton writes, "Even at this awful moment when a foreign enemy was about to overwhelm them, the chifs were so dubious of each other that no general system of defence was adopted." The author of Seiral Mutakharein writes in the same strain. He says, "Hafiz Rahmat, who was a man of great sense and much foresight sent a message to prominent Afghan Sardars

to repay the Nawab the money promised in order to avert a great evil. But those senseless men, instead of listening to Hafiz Rahmat's advice, were opposed to any accommodation". Hafiz Rahmat Khan knew that the young Afghan leaders had no feelings of amity or national interest. He, had therefore, resolved to risk every thing on a final armed clash and to meet a soldier's death, rather than to submit to humiliating terms. Still he made a last attempt for peaceful settlement, but in response to this, Shuja-id-doula raised the demand from four to twenty millions.

Convinced that his enemies had made up their minds to destroy the Rohillas he marched at the head of an Afghan forces from Barelly and the two armies faced each other at Katra Miran-pur on 23rd April, 1774. Hafiz Rahmat Khan offered gallant resistance to an army superior in number and organization and died fighting like a brave Afghan soldier, having faith in God and in the justice of his cause. About two thousand men of his army were killed. Thus ended the last Rohilla domanion in India.

Hastings must share equally with Shuja-ud-doula the odium of forcing a morally unjust combat upon the Rohillas, and for the perpretration of inhuman atrocities upon the survivours, after the battle had been won. About twenty thousands of them were scattered about to die of starvation or suffer in exile. The women and children of Hafiz Rahmat Khan were subjected to inconceivable indignities. Colonal Champion whose conscience was not dead wrote, "I have been obliged to give deaf ear to the lamantable cries of the widow

and fatherless and to shut my eyes against a wanton display of violence and oppression, of in huminity and cruelty". P.E. Robets asks a pertinent question "But even supposing that it was the duty of the British to coerce the Rohillas into payments, was so drastic a method as the conquest of the whole country necessary? Surely, as Fox suggested, a lesser penalty, might have sufficed".

Hastings' conduct in this affair from beginning was devoid of all moral justification. He himself writes, "I own that such was my idea of the company's distress at home that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, that saves so much of their pay and expenses". The majority in the Bengal Council acknowledged in their comments that, "the expectatin in sharing in the spoils of people who have given us no cause of quarrel, whatsoever, is plainly avowed to be motive for invading them". In the opinion of the Propriters, The agreements made with Shuja-ud-doula for the hire of a part of the company's troops for the reduction of the Rohilla country......were founded on wrong policy, were contrary to the general orders of the company for keeping their troops within the bounds of the Provinces and for extending their terrtories'. In the opinion of Sir Alfred Loyall, "The expedition against the Rohillas was wrong in principles for they had not provoked us[45].

44. Pt. Roberts. History of British India p. 178.
45. Cambridge History of Inbia vol. V.

The modern defenders of Hastings, as if to out do the old critics of his policy have tried to prove that his policy was above reasonable criticism. But even from the stand-point of expediency Hastings cannot be considered justified in taking drastic step against the Rohillas. When the treaty of Banaras was in the offiing, Hastings was not convinced of the wisdom of acceding to the Nawab Wazir's request for aid. He only assuaged his misgurings with the idea that the need of landing British forces to the Nawab for the destruction of the Rohillas will never arise. It is also not firmly established that the company was committed to intervene, if the Rohillas refused to pay the amount, which they had agreed, to Shuja-ud-doula for the later's armed help to expel the Marathas from Rohilkhand. In the words of P.E. Roberts, a very clear headed and balanced writer "It is difficult to dissent from the judgment of Sir Alfred Lyall that an unfortunate precedant was created when British troops were lent to be employed against a people will whom the company had no quarrel".[46]

The personal qualities of Hafiz Rehmat Khan, the nature of his kind and mild rule, his reforms in the field of administration, justice and economic development, his tarrif legislation, his regard for the poor and helpless, his patronage of education and cultural activities and above all his libral treatment of his subjects of every class and creed have ben fully and critically described by the learned author and need not be repeated.[47]

47. P.E. Roberts, History of British India, 3rd. Edition. PP 178.
46. See Text PP 259—282, Ghapter 38. Also see Strachey PP 30.

In the opinion of P.E. Robets "the rule of Hafiz Rahmat had been mild and popular; we have Sir Johan Strachey's high authority for the statement that under his strong personal control, the Hindu population was treated with greater consideration and received better protection than in any of the neighbouring Provinces.[48] Even Sir John Strachey admits that in his view 'the business was somewhat cynical'.[49]

It is a fact that notwithstanding occasional pacts for some particular purpose between the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Rohillas their relation had never been of a friendly nature. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan and his colleagues always rejected with contempt any offer of the Marathas to joint them for the spoliation of Oudh. This speaks volumes of the magmanimity and Islamic feelings of the Hafiz. Still European historians, and the partisans of Shuja-ud-doula have accused him of befriending the Marathas against Shuja-ud-doula. But this charge lacks historical authenticity.

It is not only the halo of death which has preserved the memory of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, but the Rohilla leader made a place for him in the history of India and his name 'has been held in the highest veneration.' In the words of Hamilton who is not a fair critic of his character and achievements "he was certainly entitled to some degree of respect. As the Director of a factious and disturbed government,

48. P.E. Roberts.p 178.
49. S.J. Strachey p 263 (quoted by P.E. Roberts)

he, by the superiority of his talents and address, kept together its several parts much longer then could have been expected, considering the nature of the people with whom he had to deal, and the unfortunate events under which they laboured. His personal bravery and firmness in the hour of danger would have enabled the Rohillas to support themselves with success against all foreign enemies and to have protected their dominion from the many calamities in which it had been involved for some years past, had he been propoerly supported by his colleagues, and it was this spirit that determined him, on the failure of every other resource, to prefer an honourable death to an inglorious submission.[50]

Hamilton however, uses strong words in condemning him of 'a gasping and unprincipled ambition which induced him to betray the trust of his friend and deprive his wards of their inheritance'. But as Sir John Strachey has remarked "Hamilton's views cannot be accepted free from prejudices because" they "represent the views of Faizullah Khan and it was hardly possible that his feelings should be friendly towards the man who was believed to have despoiled the family of the greater part of their inheritance".

The tragedy of Katra Miraupur rung the curtain finally on Rohilla hegemony in India. There were many circumstances that contributed to the failure of the Rohillas, some of which have been discussed

50. History of Najibud-Doullah by S.A. Rashid page 150 (translation of Nuruc-Din's 'Sirguzasht'.

in there pages Hafiz Rahmat Khan failed to devise a better and more durable system of government, than what he had inherited from prevous Afghan rulers. It was not possible in those days to introduce constitutional methods of government out of the tribal organisation of the Rohillas. But a strong centralised monarchy broad-based upon collective support would have been a practical proposition. Hafiz Rahmat also did not care to strengthen the defences of the state on the side where it was fully exposed to attack by his strong enemies. What was worst, he made no attempt to improve and modernise his army of which he had a model in the foreign trained forces of the Marathas, Jats and other rulers. Such reforms and improvements in his political system would have brought into existence a compact Afghan state in North India, which would have, on the one hand, served as a barrier against hostile forces from south and North-West and on the other hand, would have prevented the progress and expansion of the British. The Muslim hold on India would have been thus considerably extended and prolonged.

CHAPTER I

Roh, Rohilla and Rohilkhand

1. Roh, Rohilla and Rohilkhand. 2. Settlement of Rohillas in Kather. . .the Bangash settle down at Farrukhabad.

1. Roh, Rohilla and Rohilkhand. The region, with which this monograph deals, is a picturesque, verdant, and fertile patch of land; stretching at the foot of the Himalaya mountains, to whose fertility and luxuriance, not only the Ganges, the greatest and holiest river in the eyes of the Hindus, who call it "Celestial river",[1] but also Ram Ganga and many other tributaries, flowing for miles in this area, contribute, rendering its climate salubrious and invigorating. These characteristic features attracted, two hundred years ago, the Afghan adventurers of the Rohilla clan to this part of India. They willingly made it their abode, charmed by its picturesque landscape and lavish gifts of nature. The territory, known of yore, as Kather[2], was rechristened 'Rohil-

1 Stone inscription of the reign of Raja Lakhanpal in Sanskrit. It is in the Lucknow Museum. It means the Ganges river.—(*Author.*)

2 Katheria, an offshoot of the Suraj Bansi Rajputs having been driven out of Kanauj, settled here in 1004 A.D. and gave the territory the title of Kather, after Katehr, a Rajput clan. Prior to it the territory was a part of the Panchala Kingdom, which is mentioned in the Mahabharat. It then spread from the Himalayas to the river Chambel. Its capital was Ahichhatra now known as Ramnagar, situated in Pargana Sarauli, Bareilly district, a few miles from Muradabad. It has been proved by historical investigation that about 1000 years before Christ Muradabad and the adjoining districts were populated by a large number of Civilised Aryans. In 638 A.D. Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang peregrinated in the Kather area and found it under the rule of

(*Continued on Page* 2.)

khand', after 'Roh' the original home of the Rohillas.

Roh[a] is a widespread range of hilly tract in Afghanistan to the north of which lies the Kashgar hill, to the south, lie Bhakkar and Baluchistan; while on the east and the west, it is bounded respectively by Kashmir and the river Helmund, which flows in the vicinity of Qandahar.

The ancestors of Hafiz Rahmat, the hero of this book, had migrated from Ghor and Ghazni and settled down in this hilly region. They derive their title 'Rohilla' from the name of this territory. The

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(*Continued from page 1.*)

Shiladitya, a follower of Budhism and famed among his contemporaries for bravery, generosity and adherence to faith. The Tomar Rajputs invaded and conquered this country in 700 A.D. They made Sambhal the seat of their Government and ruled there till 1151 A.D. The Tomars were replaced by their rivals, the Chauhans. The famous Chauhan king Prithvi Raj, born of a Tomar mother, sat on the throne of Delhi in 1180 A.D. He built several forts and strongholds at Muradabad and Sambhal to check the Turkish invaders under Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori. The Hindus continued to dominate Kather till 1196 A.D. Only Budaun felt the shock of Muslim invasion in 1128 A.D. under Syed Salar Mas'ud Ghazi, nephew of Mahmud Ghaznavi. At the end of 1196 Qutbuddin Aibak conquered Budaun and occupied Kather and thus began the era of Muslim invasions over this province. Taking advantage of political turmoil and anarchy following Humayun's defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, a scion of Katheri Rajputs named Mitra Sen made himself Governor of Sambhal, but he was removed on Akbar's accession to the throne of Delhi. Thus uprooted from Sambhal, the Katheriyas established their colonies at Bareilly and at Chaupala, the latter was situated opposite Muradabad.

In 1635, the Rajputs of Kumaun lodged a complaint against them with the Emperor Shah Jahan who deputed Rustam Khan Deccani to uproot their colonies. Rustam Khan overpowered them and in 1629 laid the foundation of Rustamabad on the opposite bank of Ram Ganga facing Chaupala. The place was soon renamed after prince Murad Bakhsh as Muradabad. Rustam Khan remained there as Governor till 1671 in the time of Aurangzeb and was killed in a scuffle at Samugarh. In 1716, Farrukhsiyar granted it as a Jagir to Nizam-ul-Mulk Chinklij Khan. Later it was transferred to Rukn-ud-Daulah 'Itiqad Khan and came to be known as Ruknabad in place of Muradabad—*Rohilkhand Gazetteer*; *Akbar-us-Sanadid*; *Kanz-ut-Tarikh* published by Nizami Press, Budaun.—(*Author.*)

first man of this tribe to arrive in Kather was Daud Khan, a slave[b] of Shah 'Alam Khan, father of Hafiz Rahmat. It was a time of great anarchy, following the transfer of this territory to Nizam-ul-Mulk and later to Rukn-ud-Daulah; for the suppression of which the Emperor of Delhi had sent Sheikh 'Azmatullah of Lucknow with powers of a Governor.

The year 1742 marks an important epoch in the annals of Kather. In this year 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the adopted son and successor of Daud Khan, defeated Raja Harnand of Kather and occupied the whole district. This led to the colonisation of Kather by the Rohillas, whose number increased enormously. From that time the settlement came to be known as Rohilkhand, and 'Ali Muhammad Khan, though not a Rohilla himself, came to be designated as a Rohilla Chief. Historically, however, the Rohillas were found in India, particularly in Kather, long before the advent of 'Ali Muhammad Khan in Kather. When Bahlol Lodhi‡ ascended the throne of Delhi in 1451 A.D. he sent letters to Afghan Sardars in Afghanistan and Roh, inviting them to Delhi, to help him buttress up his tottering empire. The Afghans welcomed this opportunity and began to pour into India in large groups, so that there was, since then, scarcely any city in India where they were not found.

2. Settlement of Rohillas in Kather—the Bangash settle down at Farrukhabad.

The influx of the Afghans in India continued during the 'Lodhi'[c] and 'Suri'[d] regimes of Delhi. They found service at Kather with the petty

Chiefs and Zamindars holding fiefs at the foot of the mountain and rose to distinction by taking part in their internecine strifes which were rampant in those days. Gradually the various clans of the Afghans settled down permanently at Aonla, Najibabad, Farrukhabad, Mau, Bareilly, Pilibhit and other places. Among these groups of Afghans or Pathans two acquired pre-eminence. One known as the Bangash, settled down at Farrukhabad and under their leader Nawab Muhammad Khan[e] Bangash founded a principality of their own in 1714 during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. The other group occupied Kather under the leadership of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan (the hero of this book).

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CHAPTER II

Ancestors of Hafiz Rahmat Khan

1 Hafiz Rahmat Khan's ancestors 2. Shahabuddin *alias* Kota Baba. 3. Mahmud Khan *alias* Moti Baba. 4. Daud Khan. 5. Martyrdom of Shah 'Alam Khan. 6. Tragic end of Daud Khan. 7. 'Ali Muhammad Khan assumes leadership of Rohillas. 8. Capture of Maunana and Aonla. 9. Joins Imperial forces in assaulting and defeating Barha Sayyids of Jansath. 10. Receives Nawabship and other honours.

1. Hafiz Rahmat Khan's ancestors.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk Hafiz Rahmat Khan[1] was a descendant of Qais who was the first in his tribe to accept Islam in the lifetime of Hazrat Muhammad, (Peace be on him) the Holy Prophet and founder of Islam.[1] After conversion to Islam he was given the name of Abdur Rashid[a]. He undertook a journey from Afghanistan to Medina in Hedjaz to earn spiritual bliss by paying personal homage to the Holy Prophet of blessed memory. While in Medina he married Sara, daughter of Khalid bin-Walid who got the title of the "Sword of God", for services rendered to the new faith after his acceptance of Islam. She was delivered of three sons named Sarbhan, Ghorghasht and Obetin. Most of the Afghans trace their extraction from these three renowned persons.[1]

Abdur Rashid died in 41 A.H. (661 A.D.). Sarkhboon, the eldest issue of Sarbhan, son of Abdur Rashid, was given the Islamic name of Sharfuddin. His first born son was named Bharaich. Hafiz Rahmat

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1 '*Khulasut-ul-Ansab*' by Hafiz Rahmat Khan and '*Hayat-e-Afghani*' by Muhammad Hayat Khan—(*Author.*)

traced his descent directly from him. Hence his family is known as the Bharaich Family. The following is the geneological table of Hafiz Rahmat Khan :—

Bharaich
|
Daud Khan
|
Badal Khan
|
Daulat Khan
|
Shahab-ud-din Khan
|
Mahmood Khan
|
Shah 'Alam Khan
|
Hafiz Rahmat Khan

Prior to Abdur Rashid, Hafiz Rahmat's family connection cannot be ascertained authentically and whatever traces have been discovered by the authors of such works as *Makhzan-i-Afghani* and *Gul-e-Rahmat*, are not reliable, according to the author of '*Hayat-i-Afghani*', a more reliable work on this subject. But the investigation made by Muhammed Abdus Salam Khan with regard to the origin of the Afghans has proved beyond doubt that Abdur Rashid was Israelite by origin.[1]

[1] Muhammad Abdus Salam Khan writes in his book '*Nasab-i-Afghanans* (Pedigree of the Afghans), "The origin of the Afghans, who were

(*Continued on page* 7)

The progeny of Qais Abdur Rashid came to be known as Pathan because Mahmood of Ghazni was the first to call them "Batan" (Ship's Keel) in view of the fact that they formed the backbone of his military organisation by reason of their great courage and intrepidity. The term Batan, in course of time, changed into Pathan by the impact of subsequent intermingling of Afghans and Hindus in India[b].

(*Continued from page 6*)

in the beginning of their career subjected to humiliation, derogation and exile remained shrouded in obscurity. They themselves relegated their national nomenclature to oblivion by adopting the title of Pushtun (a symbol of being oppressed). When a national government of the Afghans was set up at Ghor, they linked their lineal connection with the legendary hero Duhak. With their expansion beyond Afghanistan the other nations gave them different names of their own choice. The Iranians called them Afghans; (Mourners); to the Indians they were known as Pathans. All Asiatic historians, however, described them as Israelites up to the year 1200 A.D. But when the Pathan kingdom in India declined and the Mughals supplanted them in 1526 the court historians of the Mughal Emperors poured scorn on the Afghan lineage to assuage the pique of their masters. When books began to be written, in Pushtu, the national dialect of the Afghans from about 1500 A.D., they wrote themselves Israelite in origin. The British Historians being confounded by lack of clear perspective and confronted with contradictory statements and complicated historical evidence were divided in two schools of thought on this issue. One accepted the theory of the Israelite origin, while the other rejected it. European Chroniclers aver that all Afghans bear similar features and all modern historians and travellers (including those who reject the theory of Israelite origin) have to admit that the Afghans and the Jews resemble in features. It is striking that though the Jews have lived in Afghanistan for about twentysix centuries, this long stay has not made any change in their outward form. The explanation is that they had been, due to a long period of exile from homeland, inured to living in segregation in mountanous caves out of reach from human habitations and their national pride has stood in the way of intermatrimonial alliances with alien peoples. This helped to preserve their national and lineal characteristic. Appearances apart, the character and national proclivities of the Afghans and Jews bear striking affinity. The Afghans scrupulously preserved the natioral, moral, religious and social practices of the Israelites, though they had been in the midst of strangers and aliens. They kept intact all their distinct characteristics with the exception of their language, which could not naturally retain its purity under the circumstances. Pushtu came into being, as did Urdu in India, as a result of intermingling with foreigners under alien governments. In short, everything pertaining to features, habits, customs and language provides a definite clue to their Israelite origin. Hebrew words in Pushtu language have undergone little changes, while Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit and Turkish words had shown considerable variation of pronunciation in Pushtu which proves that the former are not the words of Pushtu.

(*Continued on page 8*)

The Afghans distinguished themselves in the Indian expeditions of Mahmud Ghaznavi and Mohammad Ghori. They were given permission to settle down in places around Kabul, Qandahar and Peshawar. Later they occupied Roh. Their system of colonisation was based on the principle of clannish autonomy. Every group settled separately and occupied themselves in trade and agriculture. The Bharaich clan, to which Hafiz Rahmat Khan belonged, had originally settled in the villages Shor-Bak and Pishin within the boundary of Qandahar. But, having close blood relations with the Yusufzais, they abandoned their homeland and migrated to the Yusufzais territory of Swat and Chamla valley. One of them was Shahab-ud-din, the progenitor of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, who settled in the districts of Attock and Langarkot.

2. Shahab-ud-din *alias* Kota Baba Shahab-ud-din popularly known as Kota Baba resided at Hazara, at times moving to Chamla and Samana for recreation and change. In

(*Continued from page* 7.)

History and scriptures also lend support to the same theory. The 'Exodus' of the Israelites towards Khurasan in 722 B.C. is a historical fact and their influx in Afghanistan in the 5th and 6th centuries (before Christ) is also historically proved. The Jews of Asia Minor admit that the Afghans are Israelites in origin—a claim which is supported by the Jews journal "New Era". When Islam made its advent among them in the seventh century, the Afghans bore Hebrew names, their leader Qais (Abdul Rashid) married in an Israelite Arab family and it was with the Israelite Arab persuasion that he accepted Islam. The towns, rivers and mountains of Afghanistan bear Syrian names which is another proof that they are the relics of Hebrew. The Afghans themselves insist on their Israelite pedigree. A section of the Jews also bears testimony to the authenticity of their claim. No further evidence is needed to accept the Israelite origin of the Afghans.—(*Author.*)



Shaikh Shahabuddin alias
"Kotababa"
in deep meditation

his last days he made Samana his permanent abode, in view of divine ecstasy which overtook him while residing there. His wonder-working spiritual powers, revealed to the people around him, won for him universal veneration among the Yusufzai tribesmen. He was buried at Hazara, where his tomb is visited by large crowds of people. He had three sons—Pai Khan, Mahmud Khan and Ada Khan.

3. Mahmood Khan *alias* Moti Baba.

Mahmood Khan had inherited from his saintly father all his spiritual attainments. He was, therefore, considered eminently fit to succeed him in spiritual ministration. He strengthened his relations with the Kamalzai tribe and settled down at Torshahamatpur where he breathed his last. He left behind five sons—Azad Khan, Shehzad Khan, Hakim Khan, Hasan Khan [1] and Shah 'Alam Khan.

Shah 'Alam Khan followed in the foot-steps of his religious-minded father and, leading a life of devotion and austerity, won fame far and wide.

4. Daud Khan.

In the distribution of paternal property among the brothers, Shah 'Alam Khan acquired a slave [(c)] named Daud Khan.[2] Being issueless, he adopted him as his son, brought him up as such and put him in charge of his domestic affairs and agriculture farms. On attaining maturity Daud heard, with interest, the reports of the achievements of his countrymen and the fabulous

1 Father of Dundey Khan.—(*Author*.)

2 Daud Khan has been mentioned as a slave of Shah 'Alam in '*Jam-e-Jahan Numa*' and '*Takmalai Zikre Mulk*'—(*Author*.)

wealth and glory they acquired in Kather in India. He felt an irresistible urge to win similar renown and build a prosperous career by emulating the deeds of his compatriots in Kather. But finding his master, Shah 'Alam, unwilling to spare him, he one day left his house unnoticed and proceeded to India. He(d) arrived at Kather in the time of Bahadur Shah I, successor of Aurangzeb. He soon attracted the attention of the self-aggrandising Zamindars and Jagirdars who were engaged in mutual wranglings to carve out their own fortunes in the welter of political scramble, which followed the collapse of central authority at Delhi[(e)]. Daud Khan got service under contending chiefs and won renown by displaying extraordinary personal valour and supreme qualities of leadership. His reputation rose so high that various Jagirdars made bids to secure his co-operation against their adversaries.[1] After a while he was enrolled along with his followers in the service of the Zamindars of the *Pargana Barsur* in Budaun and under his banner fought against the fief holder of Chau Mahla with great success. In this expedition he plundered the village Bunkoli and got a huge booty in which was included a handsome and prepossessing boy of seven or eight years for whom he took a fancy. Daud Khan treated him with kindness and adopted him as his son. He was named 'Ali Muhammad Khan and placed under the tutelage of expert teachers.

In a few years the report of Daud Khan's success and military achievements travelled to his homeland

1 *'Gul-e-Rahmat'*.—(*Author.*)

and led to the migration of about five hundred Afghans, including such celebrated leaders of Roh as Malik Shadi Khan, Painda Khan, Dundey Khan, Sardar Khan and Sadar Khan Kamal Zai, who gathered round Daud Khan and joined his council.[1] The news of the success of his fugitive slave brought Shah 'Alam Khan to India. He came to see Daud Khan who received him with honour and courtesy due to a master, and presented him with Rs. 2,000/- when the Khan took leave of him to return home. After a while Shah 'Alam was faced at home with slump in his business and failure of land produce. He attributed it to the long absence of Daud Khan who used to look after his affairs. He was, therefore, compelled to trek down to India to see his slave again. Daud Khan entertained him with usual lavishness for some time, fixed upon him a maintenance allowance of Rs. 2,000/- per year and promised to arrange regular remittances of the money to him at home. Fully satisfied Shah 'Alam left for his native place. But on his way when he was in Delhi, he was taken prisoner by a body of horse dealers who had some amount outstanding against Daud Khan, which they now demanded from his master, Shah 'Alam. They refused to set him free unless their account with Daud Khan was settled and all the dues were cleared. Shah 'Alam, thereupon, left his luggage and property with his captors and giving them an assurance of early return went back to Daud Khan, reprimanded him for withholding the payment of the outstanding money and with great difficulty got the account settled. Shah

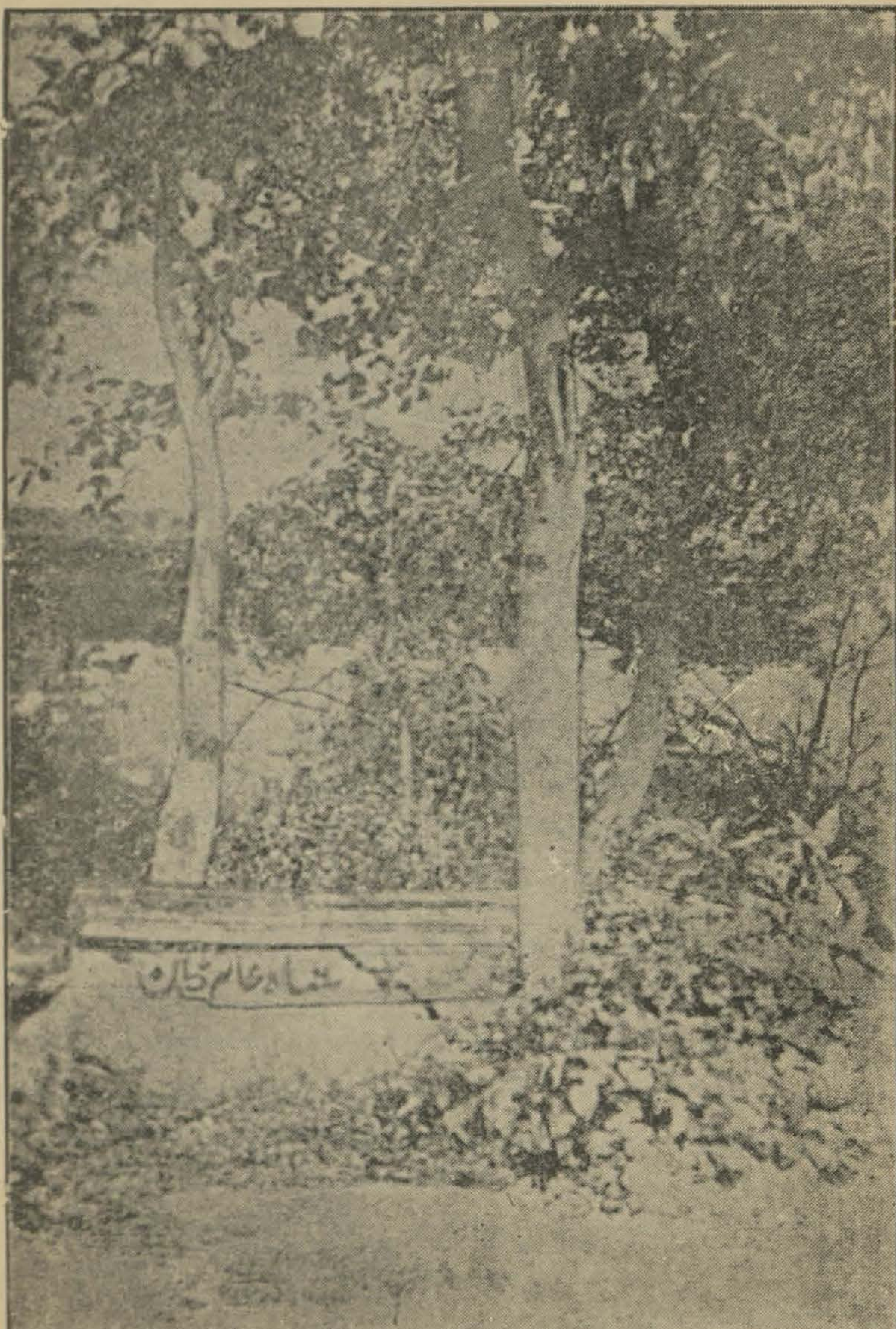
[1] *'Akhbar Hasan'*.—(*Author.*)

'Alam further scolded Daud for inflicting injustice and hardship to the poor and insisted that he should accompany him back to Afghanistan. But Daud was most reluctant to leave the land of his fortune where he stood at the threshold of a great career. Annoyed by his overbearing master's obstinacy he resolved to make an end of Shah 'Alam and appointed four persons to kill him, offering handsome reward for this dastardly crime.

5. Martyrdom of Shah 'Alam Khan. In the meantime the '*Amil* of Badaun, a nominee of Mohammad Khan Bangash, sent for Daud Khan to help him in suppressing refractory Zamindars. Daud Khan left for Badaun with his followers, taking Shah 'Alam with him. On the way the hired murderers, who were looking for an opportunity, entered one night into the tent of Shah 'Alam while he was asleep and severed his head.[1] In the morning Daud Khan buried the dead body of Shah 'Alam with outward lamentation. This painful tragedy took place in the reign of Farrukhsiyar. The tomb of Shah 'Alam is situated at a distance of a few furlongs from Budaun on the Aonla Road adjacent to the Dargah of Syed Arab. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, in later days, while he was the master of Rohilkhand, built a masonry tomb and a mosque which still exist.[2] It is said that three of the murderers of Shah 'Alam were done to death

1 A story related that the headless body of Shah 'Alam ran in pursuit of the murderers, but dropped, in the way, dead—(*Author.*)

2 The tomb was repaired by Nawab Abdur Rashid Khan of Bareilly but now it needs further repairs and a tablet. Even now the decendants of Hafiz Rahmat bring their new born babies to the tomb to perform 'Aqiqa.—(*Author.*)



Tomb of Shah Alam Khan (Budaun)

the same day by Hindu Zamindars. The only survivor was striken with leprosy, but lived long enough to narrate the sad story.[1]

6. Tragic end of Daud Khan. Within a year of Shah 'Alam's death, Daud Khan entered the service of Raja Devi Chand of Kumaon. After a short while the Raja had to fight a battle at Ruddarpur with 'Azmatullah Khan of Muradabad, in which Daud Khan fought on the side of the Raja; but at a critical moment in the battle he deserted his master and went over to the side of the enemy, which resulted in the defeat of the Raja. The vanquished army of the Raja retired to the hill. Burning with a desire of revenge against Daud, the Raja succeeded in enticing Daud to his hilly resort on promise to pay the arrears of his salary, and to lull his suspicion entertained him as an honoured guest for a few days. One day, finding him off his guard, he overpowered him and ended his life, subjecting him to agonising pain by mutilating his body with most cruel torture. Then he got his dismembered body immersed.

7. 'Ali Muhammad Khan. Daud Khan's unexpected end did not unnerve his comrades-at-arms who were all men of courage, resources and valour. They decided to stay in India, come what may ! and to make Kather, the base of their rising power. They nominated as

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1 Daud Khan, after Shah 'Alam Khan's murder, demanded the recovery of the luggage and property that was left by Shah 'Alam Khan with his creditors at Delhi. They, however, refused to hand it over to Daud Khan. Instead they sent its sale proceeds to Shah 'Alam's heirs in Afghanistan.—(*Author.*)

their leader the slave boy, 'Ali Muhammad, whom Daud Khan adopted as his son. Though still a boy of fourteen he had learned all the arts which a soldier was required to know in those days; such as horsemanship, archery, spearmanship, fencing, etc. The expert training of Daud Khan had created the qualities of leadership in him, and he had developed his precocious understanding and military talents.

8. Capture of Manauna, and Aonla. After his nomination as successor of Daud Khan, 'Ali Muhammad Khan, at the head of five hundred Afghan followers, set out from his mountain base, met 'Azmatullah Khan at Muradabad and with his permission he took possession of the jagir of Daud Khan. But a few years later his fief was transferred to Muhammad Saleh, the eunuch, who demanded of 'Ali Muhammad Khan its cession to him. 'Ali Muhammad Khan was not willing to part with his jagir and when all peaceful means to retain it failed, he suddenly made an assault on Muhammad Saleh when he was camping at Manauna and killed him along with a large number of his followers. He acquired the possession of his entire territory, property and wealth. The success at Manauna was followed by the capture of Aonla. 'Ali Muhammad Khan now consolidated his position as a Nawab, surrounded himself with princely paraphernalia and also despatched an official of the status of a Vakil to the court of Delhi. The Vakil soon set up contact with Wazir-ul-Mumalik Qamr-ud-din Khan and secured Patent and Royal *firman* for the occupation of Aonla[1] and other villages.

9. 'Ali Muhammad joins Imperial forces in assaulting and defeating Barha Sayyids of Jansath.

The Mughul forces at this time were under order to march against the Barha Sayyids of Jansath[g]. 'Ali Muhammad Khan also received orders to accompany the Imperial troops. The Sayyids were killed and their lands fell into the hands of the Imperialists. 'Ali Mohammad Khan played a leading role in this military campaign, in recognition of which, he was granted remission of a part of land revenue.

10. Receives Nawabship and other honours.

The title of Nawab, the insignia of authority and other honours were also conferred upon him and the Wazir-i-Mumalik began to take special interest in Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. Having acquired these honours Ali Muhammad Khan, for reasons which will be explained later, wrote to Hafiz Rahmat Khan, requesting him to come to India.

CHAPTER III

Early life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and his arrival at Kather

1. Meagre information on Hafiz Rahmat's early life. 2. Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan invites Hafiz Rahmat. 3. - Sets his heart at rest with regard to his father's murder at the instigation of Daud Khan. 4. Hafiz Rahmat's departure home and return to Kather at Nawab's pressing invitation. 5. Hafiz settles down at Aonla with his family. 6. Growing influence of Hafiz and extension of Rohilla influence.

1. Meagre information on Hafiz Rahmat's early life. On his return to Roh from his first visit to India, Shah 'Alam Khan was blessed with the birth of a son in 1708[a]. He was named Rahmat Khan and later came to be known as Hafiz-ul-Mulk. When his father got martyrdom he was only four years of age. The knowledge about his early life, prior to his coming to India, is very scanty. He passed his days at Tor-Shahamatpur. He was initiated into learning when only five years old. At the age of twelve he had learnt the 'Holy Qur'an' by heart and acquired good education according to the standard of those days. On coming of age he started business in horses, which in those days was considered a noble branch of trade befitting the scions of high families. He visited Badakhshan in pursuit of his business in the company of other horse dealers and returned home with horses purchased there. Hafiz Rahmat Khan enjoyed great

respect among his countrymen for his learning, polished habits and personal attainments, as well as for the reason that he had descended from the highly revered saint Kotababa. He commanded great popularity and influence among his compatriots and his pre-eminence in his homeland prepared the way for his advent in India. In the 'History of Rohilkhand',[1] it is mentioned thus :—

2. Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan invites Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

" On return from his engagement with the Barah Sayyids of Jansath 'Ali Muhammad Khan realised that many Afghans had scruples in paying homage to him on account of his being an adopted son of Daud. He consulted his advisers on this point and they suggested that Hafiz Rahmat Khan, son of Shah 'Alam Khan, be invited from Roh. The Rohillas will gladly submit to him and acknowledge his authority. 'Ali Muhammad Khan accepted their counsel and sent repeated invitations to Hafiz Rahmat Khan to come to India."

The Hafiz did not come alone, but in his company a few sincere and reliable friends, such as Gulsher Khan and Sheikh Kabir also started from Roh and reached Kather. 'Ali Muhammad Khan received him at the outskirts of Aonla with great honour and kingly condescension. He was not slow in discovering in his honoured guest the gems of rare intelligence and sagacity. He extended lavish hospitality to the party.

1 History of the Rohillas by Nawab Niaz Ahmad Khan, Hosh, 1866 edition—(*Author*.)

3. Sets his heart at rest with regard to his father's murder at the instigation of Daud Khan.

But a man of prudence and shrewdness as he was, 'Ali Muhammad Khan soon recollected the murder of Shah 'Alam at the instigation of Daud Khan and feared lest, thinking him to be an heir of Daud Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan might not give him sincere and ungrudging co-operation in his undertakings, for which purpose he had been invited. To clear this lurking suspicion 'Ali Muhammad Khan summoned a conference of Rohilla notables and after showing adequate courtesy and honour to Hafiz Rahmat Khan addressed him thus :—

"Daud Khan got your father Shah 'Alam murdered. Though I am not his natural born son, yet because he had brought me up like his own son, and as his successor, I am at present holding his property and land, I wish that I should seek absolution for him for the day of judgment from the heinous crime. Hence I request you to choose one of the following three courses :—

"1. If you want blood for blood I am ready for it.

"2. If you want blood money here are a few bags containing several thousand rupees which you should accept.

"3. Or you forgive Daud Khan for your father's murder."

Hafiz Rahmat Khan replied "You bear no kinship or blood-relationship with Daud Khan. Hence retribution from you is out of question. To accept blood

money is alien to the nature of a noble-hearted person. You cannot be held guilty for the murder of the martyred Khan, either by Muslim law, or by common practice. If this had been the case I would have hesitated to befriend you so frankly and open-heartedly. When I got convinced that your hands are absolutely clean of this fiendish crime, then only I decided to come to India and meet you. For your satisfaction I declare that without any ulterior motive and for the sake of God and for your sake I forgive the blood of my father."

4. Hafiz Rahmat's departure home and return to Kather at Nawab's pressing invitation.

The noble sentiments expressed by Hafiz Rahmat Khan and his noble-minded attitude gladdened the heart of 'Ali Muhammad Khan, and Hafiz Rahmat Khan consequently rose high in his estimation. A few days later, Hafiz wanted to return home, but 'Ali Muhammad Khan did not let him go for some time. On his repeated insistence, however, he had to give him permission on condition that he would return soon. Hafiz Rahmat Khan got back home after an absence of three years, taking with him pleasant memories of 'Ali Muhammad Khan's excellent treatment and kind behaviour. He now married with the daughter of his cousin Malik Shadi Khan and passed his days in literary pursuits and recreation. On pressing invitations from 'Ali Muhammad Khan and to keep up his words Hafiz-ul-Mulk came to India again and stayed at Aonla. This time he received from the Nawab more cordial attention and hospitality than before He was also pressed to send for his family and settle

down permanently in India. Hafiz Rahmat expressed his inability to comply with the request of 'Ali Muhammad Khan saying that for generations they had neither suffered the degradation of serving any body; nor had they given their daughters in marriage to any one outside the circle of their own tribe. He requested the Nawab not to press him for it, and assured him that he would submit to his wishes, provided he received the same generous treatment in future. 'Ali Muhammad Khan, a prudent, far-sighted and discerning man, as he was, replied, "Do as you like, only live with us. We cannot suffer separation from you."

5. Hafiz settles down at Aonla with his family.

After some time the Hafiz sent for his family and selected Aonla for his residence. 'Ali Muhammad Khan assigned twelve villages out of his jagir for the maintenance of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and laid it down that in future in the case of every new conquest of territory two villages will be added to his jagir. This practice continued in the life of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan and the jagir of Hafiz Sahib grew larger and larger.

6. Growing influence of Hafiz and extension of Rohilla influence

Hafiz Rahmat's permanent residence in India, in alliance with 'Ali Muhammad Khan, heralded a brilliant future for the Rohillas. It breathed a new spirit among them. The Hafiz was not only an ambitious, high-spirited and intrepid soldier, but also a wise administrator. His good management of 'Ali Muhammad

Khan's estate and tactful military organization increased prosperity and efficiency. By the year 1735 the Rohilla power grew enormously and many parganas were annexed to their territory including the pargana of Richha, Tehsil Baheri, Bareilly and some more parganas of the same district.

CHAPTER IV

Rohillas clash with the Emperor of Delhi: Fight with Raja Harnandan.

1. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's heroism in battle. 2. Assignment of jagir in Pilibhit to Hafiz Rahmat.

The Rohillas had built their power on the ruin of the independence of the Zamindars of Kather who made complaint to Qamar-ud-din Khan[a], Wazir of Muhammad Shah, the Emperor of Delhi. The Wazir took no notice of their representations, because he had a soft corner in his heart for the Rohilla adventurer Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. But the Emperor, who had been prejudiced against the Rohillas by the reports of the fief-holders and Amils, decided to take action against them. In 1742, Raja Harnand Khatri was deputed to punish Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan and take over the administration of Kather from him. The Raja set out with a force of 50,000 men and entered Muradabad *via* Sambhal. The Nawab made overtures for peace, but having failed in his efforts, he prepared for an encounter with the imperial forces. With a force of 20,000 strong men he left Aonla. The two army met on the bank of the river Aral. The advance guard of the Rohillas was under the command of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Dundey Khan commanded the right wing, while Painda Khan was in charge of the left wing. The Nawab himself with

other experienced Afghan leaders commanded the centre.

1. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's heroism in battle.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan displayed extraordinary valour and courage in this encounter. With a force of 4,000 picked warriors he delivered a fierce assault on the centre of the enemy, and, fighting against them, advanced with firmness towards the Raja and surrounded his elephant. The Raja had hardly proceeded a few steps to check the advancing party when a well-aimed blow by Hafiz Rahmat Khan killed him. His young, handsome son was also killed and so were many officers fighting under the command of the Raja. The remnants of the vanquished army took to their heels and 'Ali Muhammad gained a complete victory and got immense booty.

After the successful termination of the battle 'Ali Muhammad Khan sent his own men as *Amils* to take charge of the parganas of Shahabad, Muradabad, Sambhal and districts of Bareilly, who reduced them to complete submission. It was after this victory that the Rohilla settlements acquired the general name of Rohilkhand instead of Kather. Through the good offices of Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan, the Emperor assigned the governorship of Rohilkhand to 'Ali Muhammad Khan.

2. Assignment of jagir in Pilibhit to Hafiz Rahmat.

Having settled the affairs of Bareilly and its parganas Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan sent an army under Painda Khan to expel Deshpat Banjara from Pilibhit and

the surrounding parganas. This having been accomplished, the entire district of Pilibhit was made over to Hafiz Rahmat Khan as a reward for his meritorious services in the battle against Raja Harnandan[b].

CHAPTER V

Conquest of Kumaun by Hafiz Rahmat Khan.

1. Occupation of Almora. 2. Raja of Srinagar pays tribute.

In 1744 Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan resolved to punish the Raja of Kumaun for having murdered Daud Khan treacherously. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was asked to lead an expedition against him. He started with an army consisting of his trusted officers and experienced soldiers, such as Daud Khan, Painda Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan and Fateh Khan, Khan-i-Saman. At Ruddrapur he defeated a force of the Raja and captured the fort of Barakhera. From this base he advanced, without encountering any opposition, and arrived at the foot of the mountain. The Raja had stationed his men, under experienced officers, at strategic passes, which were considered impenetrable by any invader. But the Afghans were experienced in hill warfare. They left their horses below the hill and ascended the mountain by the routes which were considered impassable. The army of the Raja tried to intercept them, but the fiery Afghans continued to advance, unmindful of the difficulties

in their way and reached Almora in pursuit of the fleeing army of the Raja. Almora was invested so vigorously that the Raja saw his safety in flight. He made his escape, in the darkness of night, to Garhwal. The next morning Hafiz Rahmat Khan occupied Almora.

1. Occupation of Almora. It was for the first time that Almora fell into the hands of Muslim invaders. No Muslim ruler had ever before entered this hilly region as a victor. Hafiz Rahmat Khan offered thanks to God for his success and took abode in the Raja's palace.

A messenger, laden with rich presents, consisting of exquisitely fine articles, was despatched to convey the glad tidings of the victory to Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. The Nawab received the news with high gratification and as soon as rainy season was over he proceeded in person to Almora. He paid deserving tribute of praise and congratulations to Hafiz Rahmat and his brother officers on their glorious achievements and conferred upon them robes of honour and other distinctions, commensurate with their contributions to the victory. The fugitive Raja, Kalyan Chand, made another attempt with Garhwal army to dislodge the Afghans from their newly conquered stronghold; but his army was forced to withdraw in great confusion.

2. Raja of Srinagar pays tribute. Hafiz Rahmat now turned his attention towards Srinagar. Seeing no escape from the Afghans, the Raja, Sirmur Bhat, sent

his brother to sue for peace. A treaty of friendship was arranged between Hafiz Rahmat Khan and the Raja, by which the Raja had to pay Rs. 1,60,000 as tribute. Hafiz Rahmat Khan returned to Almora after signing this treaty. He stayed with Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan at Almora for four months. Then handing over the place to a brother of Kalyan Chand, due to unsuitability of climate, and difficulty of administering it, the Nawab with Hafiz Rahmat Khan returned to Aonla, amidst great rejoicings and acclamations on his great victory.

Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan on his return journey visited the tomb of Daud Khan and after invoking Divine blessings on his soul repeated, thrice, in loud voice "I have avenged your blood and annexed the Raja's territory."

CHAPTER VI

Emperor Muhammad Shah invades Rohilkhand

1. Detention of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. 2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's fortitude. 3. Nawab's liberation.

The Emperor, Muhammad Shah of Delhi, at the instigation of his favourite, Safdar Jang[a], Nawab of Oudh, set out to capture Rohilkhand. Safdar Jang, the then ruler of Oudh, was the son-in-law of Nawab Sa'adat Khan[b], founder of the new kingdom of Oudh. He used to reside at the Mughal Court in Delhi, leaving the affairs of his own kingdom in the charge of his deputy, Raja Nawal Rai. He was the heart and soul of the Iranian party at the court and had a rival in the person of E'timad-ud-daulah Qamar-ud-din Khan[d], the Prime Minister of the Emperor. Safdar Jang possessed the ears of the Emperor and exercised a great influence on Imperial politics by reason of his being hand in glove with Muhammad Shah. The rise of a powerful Afghan State on the border of Oudh, naturally, aroused his fear and jealousy, and he became apprehensive for the safety of his newly established kingdom which was, as he thought, in danger of being swept by the warlike Rohillas. To set his anxiety at rest he instigated the Emperor to invade Rohilkhand. The Wazir-i-A'zam, Qamar-ud-din Khan, tried to ward off the danger which hung over the head of the Rohilla Chief 'Ali Muhammad Khan; but the Emperor brushed aside his pleas in support of the Rohillas and took field

in person against them at the head of one lakh troops. The Rohillas had not the nerve to face the Imperial force and they entrenched themselves in the fort of Bangarh or Yusufnagar, situated at a distance of five miles from Aonla in the midst of a thick forest. But 'Ali Muhammad Khan sustained a defeat in a small encounter with the forces of Delhi on the bank of the river Sot near Bangarh, and surrendered himself with his two sons, Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, to the Emperor, who placed them under the charge of Qamar-ud-din Khan and brought them to Delhi.

1. Detention of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. Hafiz Rahmat Khan remained with 'Ali Muhammad as long as the Emperor was in Rohilkhand. On the departure of the Imperial army from Rohilkhand he made consultations with the Nawab and took leave of him. With Nawab's family and property under his charge Hafiz Rahmat Khan proceeded to Qadirganj[c] in Etah district where he left the family of the Nawab under the care of Shuja' at Khan Ghilzai.

The defeat of the Rohillas and the incarceration of the Nawab knocked the bottom out of the entire organisation of the Rohilla power. The Rohilla army was scattered and it appeared as if the short-lived Rohilla domination was going to end in smoke for all time to come. The Emperor of Delhi sent his own *Amils* to Rohilkhand.

2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's fortitude. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan rose to the occasion. His clever moves and well-calculated

moves at this crisis will ever remain recorded in golden words. Having arranged for the proper care and safety of the family and relations of the Nawab, he set himself zealously to the difficult task of rallying the scattered and frustrated Rohillas together into a compact body of soldiers. But he had to face great difficulty and obstacles in seeing his mission through. The religious leaders of Rohilkhand had declared that to fight against the Emperor was a sacrilege and sure road to perdition. This prevented not only the Indian Muslims, but also educated Rohillas, from enlisting in the army. Still Hafiz Rahmat Khan did not slacken his efforts and succeeded in mustering an army of 7,000 men composed of people, hailing from the hill tracts of Afghanistan. At the head of this army, and by forced marches, he suddenly appeared at the gates of Delhi. Arranging his army in front of the royal fort he demanded the release of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. The Imperial Capital was defenceless at the time. Hence Muhammad Shah, the Emperor, had no alternative but to accede to the demand of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. The Hafiz set up his camp at *Chahar Bagh* and waited for the release of his patron.

3. Nawab's liberation. The Nawab was filled with hope and delight when he heard of the arrival of Hafiz Rahmat Khan at the head of his armed followers. He directed Hafiz Sahib to establish contact with Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan. This was done and by their combined efforts the affairs of the Nawab were settled

in the most satisfactory way. The Emperor granted audience to the Nawab and restored his status and dignity to him. He was, moreover, appointed Governor of Sirhind. But his two sons, 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, were kept at the Mughal Court as hostages. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was given permission to accompany the Nawab with his armed followers. Thus, both the Rohilla Sardars proceeded to their new charge and made a magnificent entry into Sirhind[a].

CHAPTER VII

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Daring Exploits in Sirhind.

1. War with the Raja of Raipur. 2. Conquest of Jotpur. 3. Capture of Kot and Jagraon.

Sirhind in those days was the hot-bed. of Jat Sardars' rebellious activities and refractory designs. No royal deputy dared take charge of this province.[1] But the Rohillas, as soon as they entered Sirhind, performed such deeds of bravery and brilliance, before which the achievements of the legendary heroes of the past paled into insignificance.

1. War with the Raja of Raipur. With the taking in hand of the reins of Government in Sirhind 'Ali Muhammad Khan got ready to undertake in person an expedition against Baharamal, who was the most unruly Sardar in the province. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan pressed him to entrust this expedition to him. The Nawab having acceded to his request, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, with the combined forces of Paddu Khan and Dundey Khan, consisting of about four thousand foot and horse, suddenly appeared before Raipur. Baharamal brought twelve thousand men in field to face the invaders. Hafiz Rahmat Khan's strategy consisted of investing

1. The Mughul Emperor had planned to serve his own ends by sending Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan to Sirhind. If the Rohillas were scattered at the hands of the rebellious Chiefs, he will be freed from anxiety of Rohilla menace for good; if they subdued the rebels, Sirhind will be pacified, leaving the Rohillas to be dealt with later. He wanted to kill two birds with one stone. —(*Author.*)

the town from all sides. He sent three detachments to assault the town from three directions, while he himself advanced towards the main gate. The assault was to take place simultaneously on a pre-arranged signal from the detachment under the personal command of Hafiz Rahmat. Acting precisely on the settled plan, the Afghans forced their entry into the town in teeth of Jat opposition. Baharamal defended the fort with archers and artillerymen placed in front of the fort. But finding resistance of no avail before the reckless courage and grim fighting of the Afghans, he took shelter inside the citadel. The Afghans, following on the heels of the retreating enemy, forced their way into the fort and captured it. The territory was made over to a kinsman of Baharamal and the booty which fell into the hands of the Rohillas was sent to the Nawab.

2. Conquest of Jotpur. Fifteen days after the capture of Raipur, Hafiz Rahmat Khan received orders to undertake the conquest of Jotpur. Nikahimal, the Zamindar of the place, having lost a large number of his men, was taken captive along with his family and was terrified into purchasing peace by paying sixty-five thousand rupees.

3. Capture of Kot and Jagraon. Hafiz Rahmat Khan now commanded a force of fifteen thousand men. He found himself strong enough to march against Rai Kulha, Chief of Kot and Jagraon. This Raja excelled all other Zamindars in wealth and armed strength. He discarded the offer of alliance and readily came out to roll

back the tide of the Afghan invasion. The Afghans laid siege to Kot and performed wonderful feats of personal heroism. On the third day of the siege Hafiz Rahmat Khan ordered his men to scale the wall of the fort. They made a successful landing in the fort and the Jats were forced to sue for peace. Rai Kulha's brother, Rai Makhan, handed over the keys of the fort and the treasury to Hafiz Rahmat Khan. At that moment Rai Kulha was busy outside in inviting other Zamindars to help him in his fight. Finding no hope of continuing the struggle he endorsed the action of his brother by offering one hundred thirty thousand rupees as tribute, besides a few pieces of guns. Rai Kulha was restored to his jagir. After his submission other recalcitrant Sardars also agreed to pay revenue to Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan.

Chapter VIII

Rohilkhand Reoccupied by Rohillas

1. 'Ali Muhammad Khan sent back to Rohilkhand. 2. Death of Qamr-ud-din Khan. 3. Death of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1748.

1. 'Ali Muhammad Khan sent back to Rohilkhand.

Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan and Hafiz Rahmat Khan had spent several years in Sirhind, mostly devoted to a trial of strength with recalcitrant local elements. In the year 1748 Ahmad Shah Abdali[a] invaded India. The Delhi Emperor and his councillors apprehending that the Afghan leaders might enter into collusion with Ahmad Shah Abdali, a member of their own fraternity, thought it advisable that Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan be transferred to Rohilkhand. In this way, they thought, he will be at a distance from Sirhind which was strategically situated on the border between Afghanistan and India. A *firman* was issued placing Rohilkhand in the charge of the Nawab. The Royal Patent was still in transit when a letter from Ahmad Shah Abdali reached the Nawab containing the following message: "If you come to our help at this time, we will entrust you with the Wizarat of Delhi Empire when, God willing, it falls into our hands." The Nawab held anxious consultations with Hafiz Rahmat Khan on the contents of this letter. They were inclined to join Ahmad Shah Abdali. But the overweighing burden of their obligations to Qamr-ud-din Khan, then Wazir, tended to tilt the scale of their judgment in favour of the Delhi Court. With the delivery of the Royal *firman* all

doubts and hesitations were brushed aside and the Rohilla Sardars left for Rohilkhand. After having an audience with the Emperor at Delhi, on their way to Rohilkhand, they arrived at the destination with their men. In Rohilkhand they met with some resistance from the local Zamindars which they easily overcame, reducing the province to complete submission.

Death of Qamr-ud-din Khan.

In the meantime the Imperial forces under the command of Prince Ahmad Shah, who as accompanied by Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan, Moinul Mulk and Safdar Jang, marched to Sirhind to oppose Ahmad Shah Abdali. The two sons of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, named Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, were also included in the Imperial army. Ahmad Shah Abdahi was defeated. But the death of Qamr-ud-din Khan in the action by a cannon-shot neutralised the gladdening effects of victory over the invaders. The deceased Wazir stood as a pillar of strength to the tottering Delhi Empire. His personal prowess and tactfulness had maintained the prestige of the Mughals, which his death was bound to affect adversely. To the Rohillas he was a source of great strength. His protection had saved them from many calamities, which overwhelmed them after his death. During the period of his Wizarat the steed of the Rohillas' fortune, notwithstanding many hurdles in the way, was galloping with full might. But after his death it tumbled down so helplessly as to endanger the very existence of the Rohillas. They, henceforth, had to deal with a person who proved their most inveterate enemy and took delight in witnessing the process of their destruction and extermination.

3. Death of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1748.

While returning to Kabul after this defeat, the Afghan king took with him 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, the sons of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan[b]. The Imperial forces under Prince Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang were on their way back to Delhi, when the news of the death of Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi was received. The army, forthwith, recognised Prince Ahmad Shah as his successor and proclaimed his accession to the throne.

Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan felt most grievously the news of his sons' captivity and the death of Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan. This was followed by the report of the death of Muhammad Shah and the coronation of Ahmad Shah with the support of Safdar Jang. These unexpected developments foreboded serious complications in political affairs, which afflicted the heart of the ailing Nawab and resulted in intensifying the effects of dropsy from which he had been suffering. His general physical condition betrayed symptoms of decay and his faculty of hearing was badly impaired.

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CHAPTER IX

Hafiz-ul-Mulk helps Safdar Jang to Wizarat

1. Safdar Jang's letter 2. Reply to the letter. 3. Hafiz Rahmat Khan arrives in Delhi. 4. Helps Safdar Jang to Wizarat. 5. Conferment of the title of Hafiz-ul-Mulk Nasir Jang by Emperor. 6. Returns to Rohilkhand.

1. Safdar Jang's letter. When Safdar Jang returned to Delhi he wrote the following letter to Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan: "Since Qamr-ud-din's death in the battle with Ahmad Shah Abdali and the subsequent death of Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi, the question of the appointment of a Wazir is hanging fire. Some of the leading persons in the kingdom wished that Qamr-ud-din's son, Intizam-ud-Dowla Khan-i-Khanan, be invested with the responsibility of the august office, while others desire that I may be honoured with this high office. If you agree to join me, I will render you more help in your undertakings than you ever got from Qamr-ud-din Khan in his life time." The Nawab and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, after a good deal of confabulation, came to the conclusion that, since the Emperor was backing Safdar Jang, any other man pushed to the office of the Wazir, in opposition to Royal favour, will not be able to pull together with the Emperor for long and ultimately Safdar Jang will step into the office of the Wizarat. Besides, there was a serious danger of Safdar Jang's open hostility to the Rohillas, if they did not fall in with him in his designs on the

Wizarat and they feared they would not be able to stand against his hostile intentions. It was, therefore, decided that, considering the prevailing situation, Safdar Jang be pushed up to the Wizarat with full Rohilla support.

Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, though in the grip of a fell disease, prepared to go to Delhi. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan prevented him and took upon himself she duty of settling the affair with Safdar Jang.

2. Reply to the letter. The Nawab sent the following reply to Safdar Jang, "On your invitation I was keenly anxious to call on you personally, but a serious malady prevents me. The grand Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, whom I respect as a brother and who is really my ownself, is directed to attend on you with a body of one thousand experienced horsemen. Whatever favour and kindness is done to him by you will, in reality, be regarded as shown to me and whatever bonds of unity and fraternity are forged between us, will ever be maintained without the least deviation and your decision, whatever it might be, will be scrupulously adhered to by us".

3. Hafiz Rahmat Khan arrives in Delhi. Accordingly, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, in the midst of brilliance and splendour and at the head of a force of picked horsemen, started for Delhi and, having covered the distance by forced marches, arrived at the capital. Safdar Jang, who had been anxiously waiting for him, sent his son

Shuja-ud-Dowla and Najm-ud-Dowla Ishaq Khan[a] to receive him in a manner befitting the dignity of the honoured guest.

The Hafiz was lodged in the garden of Sher Jang with full honours and arrangements for his entertainment were made on a lavish scale.

Next morning, a meeting was arranged between them at which Safdar Jang embraced him warmly and explained to him the nature of the mutual squabbles between the Iranians and the Turanians, and expressed, in detail, what his plans were. Daily negotiations continued between them for a few days, till one day he informed Hafiz Sahib that next morning he would go to the Imperial fort to receive the robe of Wizarat, that a body of five thousand Turanians under the command of Intizam-ud-Dowla, would try to prevent his entry into the fort and to forestall him in the scramble for Wizarat. He asked Hafiz Rahmat Khan to escort him to the Fort, next day, before sunrise, duly prepared for any emergency that might arise.

4. Helps Safdar Jang to Wizarat. Accordingly, Hafiz Rahmat Khan with his armed retinue arrived at the gate of Safdar Jang's mansion before dawn, where he found Safdar Jang with his troops, awaiting him. They both set out with their combined armies towards the Fort displaying their power. The Turanians, five or six thousand strong, were standing at the gate trying to force their way in. They had not been able to gain access inside, owing to the opposition of Javed Khan, the Custodian of

the Royal Fort, who was a partisan of Safdar Jang. The arrival of Safdar Jang and Hafiz Rahmat Khan took them by surprise. Javed Khan, at the approach of Safdar Jang with his followers, threw open the gate by the order of Qudsia Begum, the dowager queen. Safdar Jang with a few followers entered the Fort, while Hafiz Rahmat Khan remained outside with all his men to keep the Turanians at bay. After a short while Safdar Jang emerged from the Fort dressed in the robe of the Wazir of Hindustan and in the same condition returned home.

5. Conferment of the title of Hafiz-ul-Mulk Nasir Jang by Emperor.

On the third day Hafiz Rahmat was presented before the Emperor who honoured him with a costly Khal'at, drum, standard and the title of Mukarram-ud-Dowla Hafiz-ul-Mulk Bahadur Nasir Jang. Both of them came out of the fort riding on a richly caparisoned elephant; Safdar Jang expressing his warm gratitude to Hafiz Rahmat Khan and attributing his elevation to the Wizarat to his cordial support, next to Divine grace. It is related that the two collaborators had a mutual exchange of their turbans, as a mark of establishing brotherly relations between them. It was on account of this that Shuja'-ud-Dowla, in his letters to Hafiz Rahmat Khan, always addressed the latter as "My uncle".

6. Returns to Rohilkand.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan, while in Delhi, received a letter from Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan telling that his end was near and pressing him to

return to Aonla immediately. Hafiz Rahmat Khan obtained permission from Safdar Jang and started for Rohilkhand. Here he related the whole story to the Nawab who was greatly pleased with the Hafiz and spoke very highly of his notable services.

CHAPTER X

Hafiz-ul-Mulk after the death of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan

1. Nawab 'Ali Muhammad's illness and death. 2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk nominated successor by Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. 3. Hafiz ul-Mulk invests Sa'dullah Khan with authority. 4. False statements of some historians. 5. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's capabilities. 6. Safdar Jang's ungratefulness.

1. Nawab 'Ali Muhammad's illness and death.

When Hafiz-ul-Mulk met Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the latter was completely under the terrible grip of dropsy, and there was little hope of his survival. The fell malady had reduced him to a mere skeleton. Having despaired of his life, he set to make all administrative arrangements, which were duly completed, before his life ended on the 14th September, 1749. He was buried at Aonla and an exquisite mausoleum was raised at his burial place by the orders of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. He was 44 at the time of his death and had been in harness for 30 years. He was handsome, generous, wise and brave. He managed the political and administrative affairs with great tact and firmness and based his government on the principles of Shari'at (Islamic Law). He was a man of sharp understanding and mature judgment. He led an abstemious life full of piety. He possessed high ambition. "Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan had planned to occupy the throne of Delhi after the death of Emperor Muhammad Shah. But when the Emperor

died, the Nawab himself was confined to bed. Hafiz Rahmat Khan wrote the news of the Emperor's death on a piece of paper and showed it to the Nawab, who raised his eyes towards the heaven which signified that if he had been in health he would have girded his loins, but then he was helpless."[1]

Gursahai also has mentioned in the "Tarikh-i-Oudh," "Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan had designs upon the throne of Delhi, but death did not spare him."[1]

2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk nominated successor by Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan.

The Nawab, along with other affairs of the state, settled the question of succession also a few days before his death. He assembled his nobles and dignitaries, such as Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundey Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan, Fateh Khan Khansaman, Raja Kanwersen Bakhshi, Sheikh Muhammad Kabir, Paddu Khan and others and addressed them in these words, "My condition is worsening. I, therefore, wish to nominate a sardar, possessing the requisite qualifications to succeed me; so that your affairs might not go wrong and peace and tranquillity and public weal might be preserved. God's creature is a sacred trust and in the absence of a permanent and paramount authority, mischief takes root among the people and confusion spreads in the land; unless people submit

1. " '*Imadus Sa'adat*, Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan was Hanafi Muslim belonging to Qadria order of the Muslim sufis, which conforms more with pure Islam than any other mystic order prevailing in India."

"A daring and enterprising soldier, a cautious and skilful diplomat, prudent and wise statesman 'Ali Muhammad Khan well deserved the success he had won."*History of the Freedom Movement*. P. H. Society, page 308, S. Vol. 1. (Tr.)



Mausoleum of Nawab Ali Mohd. Khan (Aonla)

to the sovereignty of a single leader. The people who submit to the leadership of a chief do not face humiliation. But those who entrust the affairs of government to several persons undermine the basis of their organisation. God himself has declared "Had there been more lords besides God Almighty, disturbances would have surely followed". Hence, whomsoever I appoint a lord over you; it behaves you, high and low, rank and file, officials and subordinates, to obey his words implicitly in all financial and political matters, as well as, in matters of promotion and degradation, so as to be able to overcome your enemy and live in prosperity and happiness.[1]

Hearing the speech of the Nawab, some of the audience represented that in the absence of the two senior sons who were in the captivity of Ahmad Shah Abdali at Qandahar, the third son, Sa'dullah Khan be chosen as Nawab, though he was minor in age. All the officials and sardars will submit to his authority without any hesitation. The Nawab resented this suggestion and said, "Even if my senior sons, 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan were present here, I would not have invested either of them with the management of the affairs of the state, because they are not equal to the task; not to speak of Sa'dullah Khan who is incapable of exercising his power with discretion. The art of government is a difficult one and can be carried on only by a man who possesses qualities of the highest order. Such qualities are found fully in the person of Hafiz

1 '*Gulistan-e-Rahmat*'—(*Author.*)

Rahmat Khan. Moreover, it is a fact that he has got a right of overlordship on me and my late master, Daud Khan, who was the personal slave of his father and was brought up in his noble family. I discharged the duties of the ruler as a stop-gap measure to serve the needs of the time and that too by his consent. Now is the time that government be surrendered to the person to whom it legitimately belongs; lest I should be grouped with the ungrateful and put to shame in the presence of my God on the day of judgment[1]." Saying this, he placed his turban on the head of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and willed that all the *sardars* and officials should render perfect homage and obedience to him.[(a)]

3. Hafiz-ul-Mulk invests Sa'dullah Khan with authority.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan, on his part, showed exemplary conduct and sacrifice on this occasion. He took the turban off his head and placed it upon the head of Sa'dullah Khan and said to Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, "You have entrusted this stupendous charge to me. I, on my part, propose this boy and make him Nawab. I vow to stand by him in all eventualities".[2]

4. False statements of some historians.

Future events would prove that Hafiz-ul-Mulk kept his pledge scrupulously till his death. But some historians have grossly mis-epresented the unique conduct of Hafizul-Mulk at the time of the nomination of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan's successor.

1 'Gulistan-e-Rahmat'—(Author.)

2 Ibid.

Muhammad Suleman Khan, author of "Tarikh-e-Sulemani," has referred to this misrepresentation. He says, "One or two annalists, either out of misunderstanding or by way of flattery, have written that the Nawab had arranged, in secret, that if Hafiz-ul-Mulk retained the turban on his head and arrogated to himself the paramountcy of Rohilkhand, a few persons would put him to death immediately." Maulvi Najmul Ghani in his "Tarikh-e-Oudh," Part II, has adopted a novel method of perverting the whole affair. He writes, "Hafiz Rahmat in his early life was a petty pedlar. Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan invited him to India and raised him to high dignity. The Hafiz repaid his favour by capturing Rohilkhand after the death of the Nawab, in collusion with a few sardars; thus depriving the sons of his benefactor of their inheritance." The same author says in another work of his, entitled "Akhbar-us-Sanadid", "Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan was a highly farsighted person who could see into the depth of futurity. To test the purity of his heart, he placed his turban on the head of Hafiz Rahmat Khan who began to weep . . . ."

Having regard to the sincere relations between the Nawab and the Hafiz, it is not possible to give credence to such wild statements of the historians whose integrity is open to doubt. The whole trend of the Nawab's life belies the charge of hypocrisy against him. Similarly Hafiz Rahmat Khan's attitude and conduct, his devotion and self-denying sincerity were such that in the absence of any convincing evidence to

the contrary, the Nawab could have no excuse to doubt his loyalty to his person and family. Hence the accusations levelled at both the Rohilla leaders seem to be without any foundation.

5. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's capabilities. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was then forty. For full eighteen years he, in collaboration with 'Ali Muhammad Khan, had worked for strengthening the Government of Rohilkhand by dint of his unsurpassed courage, heroic exploits and unerring plans which won applause, far and wide. Everyone in Rohilkhand bowed to his authority and prestige and he was considered *de facto* ruler of Rohilkhand, as Sa'dullah Khan, who was recognised as Nawab by Hafiz-ul-Mulk, was only a boy of eight years. It was a critical moment in the history of India. Dynastic revolutions, bringing in their wake political and social upheavals, had become the order of the day. The country was passing through very difficult times. The Rohillas, who were just emerging into prominence, were beset with great dangers and only a sagacious, intrepid, and consummate leader like Hafiz Rahmat Khan could put the barge of the state on an even keel. He set himself to the task of improving the condition of the people and the administration of the state. He won the confidence and obedience of the public, including the army. The result was that the newly created kingdom began to make steady march towards material prosperity.

6. Safdar Jang's ungratefulness. But a new danger raised its head from an unexpected quarter. Safdar Jang,

the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, threw aside the promises of assistance he had made to the Hafiz, while trying to secure the latter's co-operation in the struggle for the office of the Wizarat of India. He revived his plan to conquer and annex Rohilkhand and with this end in view he had the governorship of Rohilkhand conferred on Qutb-ud-din Khan, grandson of 'Azmatullah Khan, formerly *Foujdar* of Muradabad.

Qutb-ud-din Khan, at once, started to occupy Rohilkhand with an army of five thousand foot and horse. Hafiz-ul-Mulk tried to avert a direct clash with him by negotiations; but Qutb-ud-din made no response to his peaceful offers. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was compelled, against his will, to send an army under his trustworthy sardars, Dundey Khan, Sayed Ma'sum Shah, Abdul Sattar Khan and Najeeb Khan. In an engagement which took place on the bank of the river Ramganga near Muradabad, Qutb-ud-din Khan, with many of his followers, was killed.

CHAPTER XI

War with Nawab Qaim Khan Bangash and Conquest of Budaun

1. Safdar Jang creates friction among Afghans. 2. Hafiz-ul-Mulks' efforts for peace-mission of Syed Ahmad Shah. 3. Distorted version of Syed Ahmad Shah's peace-mission. 4. Clash of arms between Rohilla and Bangash Afghans. 5. Syed Ahmad Shah's prowess. 6. Qaim Khan's death and victory of Rohillas; Hafiz-ul-Mulk's sympathy with the vanquished; writes sympathetic letter to the mother of Qaim Khan. 7. Annexation of Muradabad, Ushat and Premnagar, etc.

1. Safdar Jang creates friction among Afghans.

Having failed to achieve his purpose through Qutub-ud-din Khan, Safdar Jang hit upon a successful step to sow the seed of disunity among the Afghans. With this end in view, he sought to make Nawab Qaim Khan of Farrukhabad, a prominent Chief in Northern India, his own tool. He managed to secure royal patent conferring the kingdom of Rohilkhand upon Nawab Qaim Khan. Safdar Jang knew that, whoever won, the Pathans as a nation will suffer in power and the ultimate gain would be his. Nawab Qaim Khan was a young man of little experience.[a] At the evil counsel of his minister, Mahmood Khan Afridi, he accepted the *sanad* of Rohilkhand and sent Mo'azzam Khan, brother of Mahmood Khan, to Hafiz-ul-Mulk with the following message, "I do not wish that I should cause bloodshed among the Afghans. It is proper that you cede the province of Kather in accordance with the royal patent." Hafiz-ul-Mulk replied, "We have wrested this land by our



Mirza Muqim, Nawab Safdar Jang

own valour, from the Rajputs and the rebellious *Zamindars*, who never acknowledged the overlordship of any ruler. It is not a royal gift. As long as life remains in our body we will not relinquish it. Nawab Qaim Khan will be well advised to give up this idea and not to walk into the trap set up by Safdar Jang who is manoeuvring for the annihilation of the Afghans for his own selfish ends". Mo'azzam Khan returned to Farrukhabad with this message. All hopes of a peaceful settlement having ended, both sides started war preparations.

On the 13th November, 1749,[1] Qaim Khan with fifty thousand troops and four hundred heavy guns, fastened on the back of elephants, started for the conquest of Rohilkhand. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, at the head of twentyfive thousand men,[2] determined to defend their country, left for Budaun, where Nawab Qaim Khan had pitched his camp on the bank of the river Ramganga.

2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's efforts for peace-mission of Syed Ahmad Shah.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk thought it prudent to make one more attempt to secure peace by negotiations. For this purpose, he despatched Syed Ahmad Shah, popularly known as Shahji Baba, to Qaim Khan with two pious 'Ulema. Shahji saw Qaim Khan and Mahmood Khan in their respective camps and counselled them to banish the idea of warfare from their heads, but it was of no

1 According to Sir John Strachey Qaim Khan's invasion took place in 1750—'Hastings and the Rohilla War'—(*Author*).

2 'Rohilkhand Gazetteer', '*Gul-e-Raḥmat*'—(*Author*).

avail. Mahmood Khan retorted in an insulting tone, "You are a Pirzada. You know nothing of worldly affairs, why do you poke your nose in such matters?" The Syed replied "Vanity is condemned by God and His holy Prophet and a vain person surely incurs Divine wrath". The Syed returned to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, urged him to prosecute the war with confidence, and prophesied victory in the long run to him saying, "while returning I have observed headless trunks of Qaim Khan and Mahmood Khan."[1]

3. Distorted version of Syed Ahmad Shah's peace-mission.

The peace mission of Syed Ahmad Shah has been misconstrued by Maulvi Najmul Ghani Khan, who gives the following perverted version after making reference to the 'History of Farrukhabad' by Irwin.

> "The Rohillas got frightened of the impending invasion. To avert this danger they sent a representation on behalf of the widow of the late Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, and sent Shahji Baba with this petition to Farrukhabad. Many Syeds were made to accompany him and a copy of the Holy Qur'an was sent with them. The petition begged that the father of the orphaned Nawab Sa'dullah Khan, at the time of his death, had put faith in none except God and yourself. If you will deprive him of his possession, there is no help. In that case Shuja'at Khan, Shamsher Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan might well be deputed to take them all to Farrukhabad. When the Syeds

1 '*Gulistan-e-Rahmat*'—(*Author.*)

were presented before Nawab Qaim Khan, they, placing the clothsheet of Sa'dullah Khan's mother at the feet of the Nawab and raising their hands in which they held the Holy *Qur'a,n* implored, "Oh Sardar of the Afghan nation ! be pleased to accept the prayer of this helpless suppliant and show mercy on this nation, out of regard for the humility and helplessness of the owner of this *Chadar* and spare thy hands of the blood of helpless unprotected children . . . . . ."

This seems to be a cock and bull story. It is incredible that so soon after the death of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan who had left behind eighty thousand foot soldiers, twenty thousand horsemen and thirty millions in cash in the treasury,[1] the Rohillas were reduced to such a strait as to shake in their shoes at the threat of Qaim Khan's invasion. Moreover, the widow of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan enjoyed the loyalty and devotion of leaders like Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dundey Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan, and other Rohilla sardars and commandants, who had established their reputation for daring courage and intrepidity. In view of these circumstances the story of a mean and cringing attitude, attributed, by interested, historians, to the Rohilla Chief. seems apocryphal. The embassy of Shahji Baba for effecting peaceful settlement with Qaim Khan as mentioned above is, however, an authentic fact.

4. Clash of arms between Rohilla and Bangash Afghans.

On the day, following the return of Syed Ahmad Shah, the Bungash sardars, Nawab Qaim Khan and

[1] '*Intikhab-i-Yadgar*'—(*Author.*)

Mahmood Khan, came out with their artillery and army to fight. The Bungash forces were arrayed in battle order. Having entrusted the different wings to reliable sardars, Nawab Qaim Khan ordered his gunners to proceed onward to deliver a well-concerted attack. Hafiz-ul-Mulk seated Nawab Sa'dullah Khan on the back of an elephant and made Syed Hasan Shah a saintly man of courage, sit with him. Then he arrived at the battle-field and made a skilful disposition of his army. Nawab Sa'dullah Khan's elephant was moved back to the rear of the army and Hafiz-ul-Mulk himself, with a strong force, took up his position in the centre. At a distance of about three miles from Budaun near the village Donri Rasulpur, the two armies clashed. The Bungash artillery poured death and destruction among the Rohilla ranks of the advance post. They were thrown into disorder. Many of them fled for fear of life and mingled with the party in the rear. The Bungash sardars, feeling encouraged, made a dash upon Dundey Khan who was on the right wing and inflicted heavy losses on his followers. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk soon rushed to his help and put up a severe fight against the invaders, which gave some respite to the hard pressed Dundey Khan. Bakhshi Sardar Khan also rushed with his three thousand matchlock-men for the help of Dundey Khan; but finding his way blocked by the enemy he repaired to a field covered by millet crop and concealed himself there, waiting for the enemy. Now Nawab Qaim Khan made a fearful assault on Sa'dullah Khan and in a brief engagement cut down the troops who were stationed around Sa'dullah Khan's elephant

for his protection. There was nothing now to prevent the enemy from attacking Sa'dullah Khan himself.

5. Syed Hasan Shah's prowess. Sa'dullah Khan was in imminent danger. A Bungash sardar was about to smash his head with a heavy blow. But another sardar, Khan Mo'azzam Khan, prevented this and made an attempt to capture him alive. Bringing his own elephant close to Sa'dullah Khan's, he threw a noose of his turban around the neck of Sa'dullah Khan; but Hasan Shah, who was sitting beside the Nawab, cut the noose with his sword. He foiled three such attempts made by Mo'azzam Khan to ensnare him, though in doing so he received several sword cuts, which invalided him. Suddenly a Rohilla gunner, at a signal made by Hasan Shah, fired a shot at Mo'azzam Khan who fell dead and Sa'dullah Khan was thus saved from capture or death, which seemed inevitable. The fate of the battle now hung in the balance and both sides were fighting desperately to wrest victory out of the jaws of defeat.

6. Qaim Khan's death and victory of the Rohillas; Hafiz-ul-Mulk's sympathy with the vanquished; writes sympathetic letter to the mother of Qa'im Khan. As ill-luck would have it, Qaim Khan and all his notables and sardars entered the field where Bakhshi Sardar Khan and his men were sitting in ambush. The latter at once discharged a volley at the enemies sitting on elephants' backs. Nawab Qaim Khan and his two hundred sardars lost their lives. When the Bungash army found that the Nawab had disappeared from the battlefield, they were greatly dismayed and in the moment of their victory they took to heels. The Rohillas captured immense booty including

a large number of horses, elephants, and other war material. Some Rohilla sardars brought down the dead body of Qaim Khan from the back of the elephant and severed his head. They helped themselves to the ornaments and jewels found on his body and concealed his head under the ground. The headless body was brought before Hafiz Rahmat who ordered a search for his head which was also produced before him. He ordered that the head be sewn to the body. He then covered the body with a costly rug, placed it into a palanquin and sent it to Farrukhabad. He also sent a letter to the mother of Qaim Khan in which he tried to console the sorrow-stricken lady and permitted her to remain in Farrukhabad, which place, along with the entire territory on the other side of the Ganges, was assigned to her for her maintenance.

7. Annexation of Muradabad, Ushat and Premnagar, etc.

The towns of Budaun, Muradabad, Ushat and Premnagar, situated on this side of the Ganges, adjacent to Rohilkhand, were incorporated in the Rohilla territory. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, moreover, gave a solemn assurance to the mother of late Bungash Nawab of his help and support in time of need.[1]

After despatching the letter and the dead body to Farrukhabad, Hafiz-ul-Mulk appointed officials to administer the new possessions to his territory as a result of the victory over the Bungash Afghans. On the seventh day of his victory he entered Aonla with Nawab Sa'dullah Khan in the midst of great rejoicings

1 '*Gulistan-e-Rahmat*'—(*Author*).

and felicitations. This remarkable success spread the fame of the Rohillas, far and wide, helped them win a position of pre-eminence in the politics of the country.

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CHAPTER XII

Conquest of Hilly Tracts

1. Conquest of Sanbh Pargana. 2. Storming of Kheragarh. 3. Capture of Bhartapur. 4. Conquest of Bijolia, Vermapur and Sanglia. 5. Capture of Malhwara and Lachchiyali.

After a brief stay at Aonla, Hafiz Rahmat Khan arrived at Pilibhit, from where he sent Sheikh Kabir, a man of practical wisdom and spiritual leanings, for the conquest of the territory at the foot of the hills.

1. Conquest of Sanbh Pargana. Sheikh Kabir with his followers attacked Sanbh. After a brief engagement, in which many *Zamindars* were killed and wounded and their leader was captured, the Sheikh occupied Sanbh. When the news of this victory reached Hafiz-ul-Mulk, he sent orders to the Sheikh to proceed for the occupation of Kheragarh.[a] The Sheikh marched there accordingly. A few days later, Hafiz-ul-Mulk arrived at Sanbh and restored many *Zamindars* to their lands. He stayed there awaiting the news of the conquest of Kheragarh.

2. Storming of Kheragarh. Kheragarh was not an easy place to reach. The river Sarda, known as Ghogra in Oudh, flowed to its west and it was hardly possible to cross it. On the other sides it was surrounded by dense forests. But Sheikh Kabir penetrated through the jungles and arrived at the bank of the Sarda. By a

stroke of good fortune a ford in the river was discovered. The followers of Sheikh Kabir crossed the river on elephants in the face of showers of arrows and volleys of gun-fire from the villagers who had assembled on the opposite bank of the river to stop their landing. But the Afghans, caring nothing for the danger, soon forced the villagers to withdraw in confusion. The *Zamindars* of Kheragarh learned from the fugitive villagers that the enemy had crossed the river. They collected an army of ten thousand strong and took the field to hurl the Afghans back to the river. Sheikh Kabir stationed his forces at a distance of six miles from Kheragarh and besieged the place next morning. The *Zamindars* with their forces stood at their posts for some time, but they had no heart to face the Afghan onslaught. Kheragarh fell to Sheikh Kabir who obtained immense booty. He tried his best to allay the fears of the common people. The news of the capture of Kheragarh was communicated to Hafiz-ul-Mulk who sent an urgent order to the Sheikh to rehabilitate the uprooted persons in their respective homes and to place the management of Kheragarh in the hands of a trustworthy official. Sheikh Kabir was ordered to proceed to Bhartapur.

3. Capture of Bhartapur. Bhartapur is situated at a distance of fourteen miles from Kheragarh towards the west. To the east of it flow two rivers, Kodiala and Karnal, and it is surrounded by impenetrable forests. Sheikh Kabir covered the distance with great caution and arrived on the bank of the river Karnal. While crossing the river, he met some resistance from the Rajputs ;

but they were forced to take shelter in the Bhartapur fortress. Sheikh Kabir in pursuit of the fleeing Rajputs arrived at the fort and laid siege to it. When the Afghans approached the walls of the fort, the keeper of the fort, leaving two hundred soldiers for its defence, made good his escape in the darkness of the night. Next morning the Sheikh delivered an assault on the beleaguered garrison and the Afghans succeeded in scaling the walls. Many of the defenders were put to the sword.

4. Conquest of Bijolia, Vermapur and Sanglia.

After consolidating the newly conquered territory, Sheikh Kabir, in compliance with the order of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, occupied Bijolia, Vermapur and Sanglia without any opposition. He resettled many *Zamindars*, who had run away out of fear of the Afghans, in their homes and collected a large amount from them by way of tribute. It was despatched to Hafiz-ul-Mulk. After accomplishing his work of conquest and consolidation, Sheikh Kabir returned to Sanbh, where he received great honour and distinction at the hands of Hafiz-ul-Mulk in recognition of his distinguished services and brilliant achievements. The chief of the *Banjaras* of Kheragarh, who owned the territory, now presented himself before Hafiz-ul-Mulk and received from him the *Khil'ats* and order of reinstatement to Kheragarh.

5. Capture of Malhwara and Lachchiyali.

Sheikh Kabir started with a fresh force for the conquest of the district of Malhwara and Lachchiyali at the foot of the mountain. He wrested forcibly both the places. The Raja of

Lachchiyali sent his agent to Hafiz-ul-Mulk who, on payment of a large amount of money and on a promise that the tribute will be remitted year by year, gave back the possession of Lachchiyali to the Raja. Thus having spent four months in the conquest of the mountanous regions, Sheikh Kabir and Hafiz-ul-Mulk returned to Pilibhit.

Chapter XIII

Destruction of Bangash family at the hands of Safdar Jang and rise of Ahmad Khan with Hafiz-ul-Mulk's support.

1. Imprisonment of Qaim Khan's mother and occupation of Farrukhabad by Safdar Jang. 2. Ahmad Khan stirred to action by a woman's taunt. 3. Release of Ahmad Khan's mother by the efforts of a Hindu servant. 4. Nawal Rai, Safdar Jang's deputy, fights with Ahmad Khan : Safdar Jang invades Farrukhabad again. 5. Nawal Rai slain: Ahmad Khan occupies Farrukhabad. 6. Safdar Jang invades Farrukhabad again. 7. Nawab Ahmad Khan seeks Hafiz-ul-Mulk's help. 8 Nawab Ahmad Khan's victory with the help of Rohillas 9. Safdar Jang completely defeated and wounded.

The news of the death of Nawab Qaim Khan of Farrukhabad gave immense satisfaction to Safdar Jang. He openly expressed his pleasure at the destruction of the Bangash Afghans and made undignified, taunting remarks against the deceased Nawab and the Afghan nation in general.[1] He, at once, made up his mind to annex Farrukhabad, lying contiguous to Oudh, to his dominion and left Delhi for Farrukhabad to execute this design. At the same time he sent a letter to the mother of Qaim Khan, in which he expressed deep sorrow on the murder of Qaim Khan and pledged terrible vengeance upon the Rohillas. He also invited her to meet him early, so that he might talk over certain important things with her. Qaim Khan's mother was taken in by the deceitful proposal and taking with her seven strong-built slaves went to meet

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1 '*History of Farrukhabad*' *by Irwin.*

Safdar Jang in the hope to secure retribution and assistance from him.

1. Imprisonment of Qaim Khan's mother and occupation of Farrukhabad by Safdar Jang.

In the very first interview Safdar Jang took the lady captive and sent her to Lucknow. Her companions were done to death with great brutality. Safdar Jang now entered Farrukhabad and putting all the relations of the captured lady to the sword appropriated all her cash and belongings. He appointed Diwan Nawal Rai, his deputy at Lucknow, as the administrator of Farrukhabad also. After making these arrangements Safdar Jang returned to Delhi and Nawal Rai left for Lucknow with immense wealth extorted from the people of Farrukhabad.

While these events were taking place in Farrukhabad, Ahmad Khan, brother of Qaim Khan, was residing in Delhi. Being at loggerheads with Qaim Khan, he had joined Safdar Jang and lived with him in Delhi. He was distressed on hearing the report of the destruction of his family and the captivity of his mother and left secretly for Farrukhabad. Safdar Jang, who underrated his capabilities, took no notice of his escape. On arrival at Farrukhabad, Ahmad Khan found that the excesses perpetrated by Nawal Rai and his agent had completely unnerved and frightened the people of Farrukhabad. Seeing no ray of hope in the prevailing atmosphere of dejection and frustration he sought refuge with the Afghan nobles of Mau.[a]

2. Ahmad Khan stirred to action by a woman's taunt.

During his stay at Mau a strange happening provoked Ahmad Khan to action

and fired him with a revolutionary resolve. The author of "Imadus-Sa'adat" has described the incident in the following words:—

> "A poor lady used to sell cotton yarn in the *bazar* of Mau. One day a Hindu servant of Nawal Rai purchased the yarn and paid the price. After the lapse of a month he came again to the lady and demanded of her to take the yarn back and return his money. The old woman represented that she earned her livelihood by the sale of the yarn and that she lived from hand to mouth. She had no money to refund. Moreover, she added, that according to the business practice, observed throughout the world, a month-old bargain is cancelled. The Hindu lost his temper at this reply and abused the lady who also paid him in the same coin. Upon this the Hindu took his shoes off and struck her with them at the head. The lady, beating her head and breast, came to Ahmad Khan and said, "Curse be on the turban you wear; You had better been born a woman! A Hindu sepoy has abused me—wife of an Afridi—and belaboured me with his shoes."

Ahmad Khan hung his head with shame. For two days and nights he ate and drank nothing and passed sleepless nights shedding tears. The third day he related the story to Rustam Khan Afridi who readily agreed to throw himself, heart and soul, in the vindication of Afghan cause and presented a considerable amount to Ahmed Khan for raising an armed

force. Ahmad Khan lost no time in trying to rehabilitate his resources and power.

3. Release of Ahmad Khan's mother by the efforts of a Hindu servant.

During her captivity at Lucknow a faithful Hindu servant of the mother of Ahmed Khan took up service under the Diwan, Nawal Rai. This man, named Sahab Rai, exercised great influence over his master and one day, when the latter was under the influence of wine, Sahab Rai got his signature upon an order for the release of the lady and permission to her to go to Farrukhabad. He had the order sent to the guards who kept watch on the imprisoned lady and advised her to depart for Farrukhabad immediately. Next morning, she reached Mau safely and joined her son Ahmad Khan. When Nawal Rai came to himself the next morning, he felt greatly ashamed of his negligence and sent the information to Safdar Jang who ordered him to proceed to Mau at once and bring back Ahmad Khan Bangash and his mother as captives to Oudh.

4. Nawal Rai, Safdar Jang's deputy, fights with Ahmad Khan: Safdar Jang invades Farrukhabad again.

Nawal Rai, accordingly, reached Mau with a large force and ordered the Afghan chiefs to surrender the lady and Ahmad Khan to him. The sardars of Mau, who were all Afghans, stung at his humiliating demand, sent a curt refusal to Nawal Rai and started preparations to fight with him, under the leadership of the Bangash Sardar. Ahmad Khan appointed Rustam Khan as his Bakhshi and with a force of ten or twelve thousand Afghan soldiers he advanced eight miles from Mau to meet Nawal Rai who had with him a heavy artillery and forty thousand men. The hostile armies

took up their positions ready to grapple with each other in a deadly conflict. Ahmad Khan and Rustam Khan, however, in consultation with other Afghan sardars, decided on a night attack in order to forestall the enemy. Accordingly they attacked the camp of Nawal Rai long before sunrise while he was still busy in worshipping his idols.

5. Nawal Rai slain: Ahmad Khan occupies Farrukhabad. Confident of his unassailable might Nawal Rai persuaded himself to believe that the Afghans were retreating in confusion and, therefore, took no action to alert his army. The Afghans entered the enemy's camp without any resistance and killed many of them. At last Nawal Rai was roused to action. Riding on an elephant he proceeded to the scene of fight. But the Afghans spotted him and rushed towards him. They surrounded his elephant and in a few minutes lifted his *howdah* on their shoulders and hacked his body to pieces. With the death of Nawal Rai, his army dispersed in great confusion. Thus Ahmad Khan gained a victory, decisive and complete, beyond all expectations. He got valuable spoils including guns, elephants, horses, cash and personal effects. Every soldier of Ahmad Khan shared the spoils and became rich overnight. Ahmad Khan made triumphant entry into Farrukhabad and soon got busy in collecting a big army and in recovering the territories which had been lost to his family.

6. Safdar Jang invades Farrukhabad again. The report of Nawal Rai's defeat and death provoked Safdar Jang to retaliate

upon Ahmad Khan. On July 23, 1750, he started at the head of an army of eighty thousand men for the reconquest of Farrukhabad. He was assisted by reputed imperial generals like Najm-ud-Dowlah, Ishaq Khan and a contingent of thirty thousand Jats, under the command of Surajmal, ruler of Bharatpur, with a big artillery. Ahmad Khan also took steps to increase the strength of his army to encounter Safdar Jang.

7. Nawab Ahmad Khan seeks Hafiz-ul-Mulk's help.

At this critical moment Ahmad Khan's mother recollected the promise of help and co-operation held out by Hafiz-ul-Mulk after the death of Qaim Khan. With the advice of the sardars of Mau, a trustworthy emissary was despatched to Hafiz-ul-Mulk to solicit his assistance. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, out of compassion for the distressed lady and sympathising with the Afghan cause, sent several officers with a selected body of troops for the help of Nawab Ahmad Khan. He also ordered his camp to be set up on the road leading to Farrukhabad, at some distance from Bareilly. When Safdar Jang heard that reinforcement had been despatched from Rohilkhand, he hastened to reach Farrukhabad. Ahmad Khan, ready to meet him, came out of the city and took position at a short distance from Safdar Jang's forces. Next day Ahmad Khan advanced his contingent of twenty thousand horse and foot further so as to come face to face with the enemy. On the following morning Safdar Jang arranged his forces at Chitoni, near Tehsil Sahawar for battle. Ishaq Khan was given charge of the advance party; Surajmal was commissioned to proceed with a large portion of the artillery.

Ahmad Khan divided his army in two detachments. One was placed under Bakhshi Rustam Khan who was charged to attack Surajmal Jat. The second detachment, composed of the sardars of Mau and Farrukhabad and the Rohilla reinforcement, was kept under his own command at the centre to face Safdar Jang.

8. Nawab Ahmad Khan's victory with the help of Rohillas.

The adversaries grappled with each other with grim ferocity. Rustam Khan fell upon the artillery of Surajmal with reckless courage, but was killed in the thick of the battle. His followers lost heart and retreated. When Ahmad Khan came to know of this catastrophe, he displayed great self-composure and presence of mind. He called out to his men, "Rustam Khan has defeated his opponent, Surajmal!" saying this and seated in a palanquin he moved in front of the enemy's artillery and advanced to capture it, "but you have not pushed your adversaries back. This is far from your Afghan spirit." His men, taking courage from his words and action, rushed upon the vanguard under Ishaq Khan and scattered it. Ishaq Khan himself was killed and his artillery fell into the hands of the Afghans.

9. Safdar Jang completely defeated and wounded.

At this moment a gunshot struck Safdar Jang in the neck. He fell senseless in the *howdah* on the back of the elephant. Taking him to be dead, his army began to flee in great confusion. Safdar Jang himself would have fallen into the hands of the enemy had not the *mahawat*, named Jagatnarain, shown great composure and presence of mind in this moment of extreme danger. He managed to extricate his elephant from the critical situation, and put him

on the road to Delhi. Surajmal, who had beaten Rustam Khan, also took to flight on the heels of Safdar Jang. Ahmad Khan beat drums of victory in the battlefield and returned to Farrukhabad in triumph with huge spoils of war. He lavishly rewarded the officers of Hafiz-ul-Mulk who had distinguished themselves in the battle. They were allowed to return loaded with booty, captured from the enemy. A message of thanks was also sent to Hafiz-ul-Mulk in which Ahmad Khan related that he intended to go on to Oudh and requested Hafiz-ul-Mulk to send an army to Khairabad. Hafiz-ul-Mulk despatched a large force under Sheikh Kabir and Parmool Khan and occupied Shahabad and Khairabad. Nawab Ahmad Khan, after a brief stay at Farrukhabad, proceeded for the conquest of Allahabad, where many of his relations were rotting in confinement. He also ordered his son Mahmood Khan to march for the conquest of Oudh. The latter captured Lucknow. Ahmad Khan laid siege to Allahabad. Safdar Jang hearing this report issued orders to the guard of the fort at Allahabad to put all the relations of Ahmad Khan to death. Accordingly they were all, mostly innocent, massacred with revolting atrocities. This brutal treatment, meted out to his kith and kin, provoked Ahmad Khan to ferocious attempts to capture the fort; but his indefatiguable efforts proved of no avail in the face of the impregnability of the fort. In the meantime, Safdar Jang recovered from his wounds. He now set himself to settle his old scores with Ahmad Khan. He begged the Emperor to take field in person against Ahmad Khan. On the Emperor's

refusal he sent his agent Jugal Kishore to Mulhar Rao Hulkar and Apaji Scindhia, the Maratha leaders, to persuade them, on promise of large amount of money, to come to his help. Hulkar and Scindhia marched to North India and occupied Etawah in 1751.[b] Azam Khan, brother of Ahmad Khan, and Shahdil Khan Ghilzai who were in charge of Etawah could not withstand the Marathas and left for Farrukhabad. Hearing the news of Marathas inroad, Ahmad Khan raised the siege of Allahabad and also sent for his son, Mahmood Khan, who was then at Lucknow. Both of them threw their energy into preparations for waging war against the Marathas.

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CHAPTER XIV

Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Marathas' Clash : Disorder in the Country

1. Safdar Jang and Marathas invade Farrukhabad. 2. Nawab Ahmad Khan seeks protection of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. 3. Safdar Jang and the Marathas invade Rohilkhand : War with Hafiz ul-Mulk. 4. Peace follows war. 5. Restoration of cordial relations between Safdar Jang and Hafiz-ul-Mulk. 6. Devastation in Rohilkhand following Marathas' invasion.

1. Safdar Jang and Marathas invade Farrukhabad. When Safdar Jang heard of the capture of Etawah by the Marathas he proceeded to Farrukhabad, accompanied by many imperial generals and with a part of the royal artillery. Ahmad Khan was alarmed at the approach of Safdar Jang and the Marathas who had between them an army of two lakhs, besides one thousand guns.[1] He thought it expedient to leave Farrukhabad and to seek shelter in Rohilkhand. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was then in Bareilly, while Nawab Sa'dullah Khan was residing at Aonla. A follower of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, named Bahadur Khan, without the knowledge of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, collected an army of twelve thousand soldiers and taking Sa'dullah Khan with him marched to Farrukhabad to assist Nawab Ahmad Khan. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, on hearing of this rash adventure, went to Aonla and started consultation with Dundey Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan and other Afghan nobles, on the advisability of coming to a settlement with, or taking

1. *'Akhbar-us-Sanadid.'*

up arms against the Marathas and Safdar Jang. Meanwhile Nawab Sa'dullah Khan grappled with the Maratha army that came in his way but sustained defeat. Bahadur Khan was killed and Afghan army suffered heavy losses. Sa'dullah Khan thereupon returned to Aonla.

2. Nawab Ahmad Khan seeks protection of Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

Within four days Ahmad Khan with his mother and many relations reached Aonla. Safdar Jang occupied Farrukhabad and set up his camp on the bank of the river Ganges with the intention of marching into Rohilkhand. The Afghan sardars held a conference at Aonla and decided to send their family to Kashipur in the Kumaun hills for safety and then to wage war against the enemy. Accordingly the Afghan leaders escorted their families and children to Kashipur. But in the meanwhile Safdar Jang changed his plans. He decided not to cross the river during the rains and stayed in his camp. Hearing this, the Afghan nobles returned to Aonla from Kashipur. After the rains Safdar Jang and the Marathas collected boats and constructed bridges at several places to cross the river.

3. Safdar Jang and the Marathas invade Rohilkhand. with Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

On receiving the report of the enemy's movements Hafiz-ul-Mulk with the combined forces of the Rohillas and the Bangash advanced and came to grip with Marathas, who had crossed the river in the body of twenty thousand men. They prevented the remaining force of the Marathas from crossing the river. Realising that they could not take their remaining force by

crossing the bridge to the other side on account of the Afghan resistance, the Marathas carried their boats to a place, six miles up the river intending to invade the Rohilla headquarters of Aonla and Bareilly. They expected that the Afghans would run to these towns for the protection of their families and properties. The Rohillas got scent of this clever move of the enemy through their spies, and began to provide for the safety of their women and children, as was expected by the Marathas. But at the same time they did not overlook arranging their armies in a battle array. Placing all their officers and men in proper jobs and having fully organised the wings, centre, vanguard, and rearguard of the army, Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Nawab Ahmad Khan broke their camps and proceeded to the battlefield. When Safdar Jang came to know of the Afghan movements he sent forty thousand men after them. They intercepted the Afghans on the way and pressed them hard. But the Afghans stood firm in their position and did not yield to the pressure of the enemy. Their valour and dogged tenacity surprised the enemy. Both Safdar Jang and the Marathas gave up the vain attempt to harass the Afghans and pitched their camps in the battlefield to await for the arrival of the remaining forces. Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Khan continued their march in a regular order and arrived at Aonla. There they collected all cash and property and, taking their families with them, proceeded to Kathel and Chalakya. Arriving there, they first provided for the safety of their children and stores and then entrenched themselves firmly. Chalakya, situated high on the Kumaun hill, was

surrounded by dense forests and protected by fast-flowing rivers which it was not possible for an army to cross. Safdar Jang and Hulkar, collecting the entire force, consisting of one hundred thirty thousand men, started to overtake the Afghans. In the course of their progress they occupied Aonla, Bareilly and Muradabad and halted near Chalakya, where they raised fortification for fear of surprise night-attacks by the Rohillas. They spent four months behind these fortifications, protected by their guns, in a state of inactivity. Skirmishes between the patrols of the adversaries took place almost daily. The Afghan soldiers invariably got better of the enemy's horsemen. With the prolongation of the siege the Afghans ran short of foodgrain to feed their army. But the Raja of Almora, on the request of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, sent ample provisions for them. This supply raised the spirit of Afghans who were now in a better position to stand the siege for years to come. On the other hand, unfavourable climate spread disease in the army of Mulhar Rao Hulkar. This calamity killed his interest in the siege and made him seek some excuse to leave the jungle. Safdar Jang also had lost all interest in continuing the siege, specially when news was brought to him that Ahmed Shah Abdali had arrived as near as Lahore. He desired to make terms with the Afghans and hasten back to Delhi. Having decided to open negotiations for peace with the Afghans, Safdar Jang and Mulhar Rao Hulkar sent 'Ali Quli Khan to Hafiz-ul-Mulk with the following message: "Safdar Jang is not after your destruction. He, on the other hand, desires to make a contract of

mutual alliance and co-operation. Why do you lengthen out the siege and suffer distress?"[1]

4. Peace follows war. Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Nawab Ahmad Khan discussed the terms of peace with the ambassador. Subsequently Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Mahmood Khan, son of Nawab Ahmad Khan, went to the camp of Safdar Jang to finalise the settlement. They first met Mulhar Rao Hulkar in his camp and then all of them proceeded to the camp of Safdar Jang. They were accorded a cordial welcome by the nobles of Safdar Jang who himself came out of his tent to receive them and embraced Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Mahmood Khan. The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and sincere understanding. Finally it was settled that the Rohillas would pay fifty lakhs of rupees to Safdar Jang as war indemnity. They als agreed to pay five lakhs of rupees annually to the imperial treasury by way of tribute. Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Mahmood Khan then took leave of Safdar Jang and Mulhar Rao, and on return communicated the terms of peace to Nawab Ahmad Khan and other nobles. An agreement, bearing the seal of Safdar Jang, was shown to all of them. The Afghan sardars, too, subscribed their signatures to the documents and next day, in another interview with Safdar Jang, the signed document was returned to him. Safdar Jang handed over the treaty to the Marathas to assure them that a part of the stipulated amount promised by afdar Jang as a price of their armed assistance

1 *Gul-e-Rahmat*.—(Author).

might be paid to him in this way.[1] They, then, talked about their march back. Safdar Jang told Hafiz-ul-Mulk that he would leave for Oudh the following day and requested the latter to give him the pleasure of his company up to Shahjahanpur. He also directed that Nawab Ahmad Khan and other Rohilla sardars should break up their camps for returning home after the Nawab Wizir's troops had covered several stages. Hafiz-ul-Mulk agreed to it and the next morning with four hundred tried soldiers he joined the camp of Safdar Jang and started with him for Oudh. Thereafter, Nawab Ahmad Khan with his mother and other nobles left for his destination.

5. Restoration of cordial relations between Safdar Jang and Hafiz-ul-Mulk. Safdar Jang in the course of the journey lavished hospitality upon Hafiz-ul-Mulk, feasted him sumptuously and many a time honoured him by inviting him to dine together. He showed great warmness of heart towards him and declared several times, "Among the people hailing from the Afghan country I have never come across a man of such capability and understanding."[2] At Shahjahanpur Safdar Jang entertained him for several days in spite of the Hafiz's pressing requests to be permitted to leave for his home. In private conversations he addressed Hafiz-ul-Mulk as 'brother' and the same form of address was used in future correspondence. At the village Mohān, where they stayed, Hafizul-Mulk was allowed to depart after having been invested with a costly robe and with presents consisting of a

1 *'Hastings and the Rohilla War.'*—(*Author.*)
2 *Gul-e-Rahmat.*—(*Author.*)

wreath of precious jewels, a very costly turban, sword, shield, horse and elephant with silver trappings. At the same time a royal patent for the grant of *pargana* Sambhal from the Emperor and a *farman* for the *jagir* of Pramnagar on his own behalf were issued to him. Highly gratified with the favour shown to him by Safdar Jang, Hafiz-ul-Mulk returned to Rohilkhand.

6. Devastation in Rohilkhand following Marathas' invasion.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk was now faced with the difficult task of setting aright the administrative machinery of Rohilkhand which had been thrown completely out of gear under the stress of the Marathas' invasion. According to the author of "Imadus-Sa'adat" the Marathas denuded the Pathans of two crores of rupees in their plundering raids.

Chapter XV

Partition of Rohilkhand among Rohilla Sadars: Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Political Blunder

1. Partition of Rohilkhand. 2. Release of 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan from captivity: Second partition of Rohilkhand. 3. Rivalry between 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan: a ttempt on Hafiz-ul-Mulk's life : third partition of Rohilkhand. 4. Hafiz-ul-Mu shifts his residence from Aonla to Bareilly.

The Maratha ravages in Rohilkhand had reduced the Rohillas to such a sore strait that it had become difficult for them to make the two ends of the government meet and to remodel the machinery of the administration. To get over this impasse Hafiz-ul-Mulk thought of a handy expedient—fragmentation of the country and assignment of piecemeal holdings of land to nobles and military officers, so that each assignee might eke out income from his fief to meet the expenses of raising and maintaining his own military contingents.

1. Partition of Rohilkhand. In pursuance of this policy of partition Dundey Khan who had to maintain twelve thousand horse and foot was assigned Muradabad, Sambhal and Kashipur. Kot and other suburbs of Aonla were made over to Bakhshi Sardar Khan. Other leaders like Sheikh Kabir, Malik Fateh Khan and Mulla Mohsin also received land assignments for the maintenance of their quota of armed strength. The rest of the country remained in possession of Hafiz Rahmat Khan upon whom, as liege lord, devolved the responsibility of keeping a big army and

providing the wherewithal of the state administration. For the personal expenses of Nawab Sa'dullah Khan and his three younger brothers,[1] a sum of seven lakhs of rupees per year was allotted, besides assignments of a large *jagir*. Nawab Sa'dullah Khan and his brothers were better off in this distribution of *jagirs* and emoluments; as they had no liabilities in the form of disbursement of salaries to the army or incurring expenditure on the management of the territory. All parties concerned were satisfied with this arrangement made by Hafiz-ul-Mulk. But this plan was an irretrievable political miscalculation which brought, in its wake, dismemberment of the Rohilla hegemony. In making this arrangement Hafiz-ul-Mulk had thrown to the winds the wise counsel of the late Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan who had warned thus, "Those who entrust the work of government to several persons undermine the foundation of their confederacy." It will be seen later that as long as old and trustworthy friends and comrades of Hafiz-ul-Mulk remained in possession of these assignments, Hafiz Rahmat Khan enjoyed their full devotion, ungrudging co-operation and loyal service. But their successors set Hafiz-ul-Mulk's authority at nought and in their anxiety to realise their dreams of independent sovereignty, they hurled their nation in the abyss of total annihilation or subservience to their foes.

2. Release of 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan from captitvity: Second partition of Rohilkhand.

It has been related above that Ahmad Shah Abdali, while returning from India in

1 Md. Yar. Khan, Allah Yar Khan and Murtaza Khan.

1748, has taken with him, as captive, the two sons of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, namely, 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan. Since then they had been in captivity at Qandahar. Hafiz-ul-Mulk ever kept on pressing for their release. At the end of 1752 when Ahmad Shah Abdali led his second expedition to India, and reached Lahore,[b] Hafiz-ul-Mulk again sent a petition to the Afghan chief, praying for the release of the two brothers. This time the petition received a favourable response, mainly because the Afghan king needed the good-will and support of the Rohillas in the forthcoming expedition to India. 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan were allowed to return to Rohilkhand. There is some difference of view regarding the circumstances under which the two sons of late Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan were set at liberty. One historian, Farah Bakhsh, quoted in *Akhbar-us-Sanadid*, gives the following far-fetched version which seems far from the truth. He says, "Hearing the news of the death of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the Abdali king on the recommendation of some nobles set the two brothers at liberty." But on the very face of it, this statement seems improbable, as it was three years after their father's death that the two brothers were allowed to set off for India. In fact, the main consideration which moved the Abdali king to release the two brothers was his strong desire to gain the goodwill of the Afghans, whose support he intended to enlist in his favour for the next invasion on India. When 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan approached Aonla, Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Nawab Sa'dullah Khan came out with a considerable body

of followers to receive them near Anoopshehr. They were brought to Aonla in the midst of great rejoicings and merry-making. But 'Abdullah Khan, the eldest brother, felt jealous of his youngest brother, Sa'dullah Khan, because the latter had been selected a successor to his father and bore the insignia of kingship. Hafiz-ul-Mulk tried to assuage his wounded feelings and made special concessions in his favour. But 'Abdullah Khan was not satisfied and at the instigation of Qutub Shah, a mischievous and crafty counsellor of his, he stooped to such disgraceful stratagems to get possession of the kingdom bequeathed by his father as to set all the brothers against him. Hafiz-ul-Mulk tried his best to restore amicability and affection among them, but to no avail. As a last resort Hafiz-ul-Mulk summoned all his sardars and officials in whose ripe judgment he had faith and explained to them the situation, created by the rivalry and jealousy of the brothers and asked them to suggest ways and means to avert the danger. Finding the fratricidal antagonism incurable, they all decided to partition the country among all the brothers. The plan of partition, as suggested by them, comprised the division of the territory among the three brothers, each getting equal share. As regards the remaining three brothers, it was arranged that one minor brother be placed under the charge of the each of senior brothers, because being of tender age, none of these three could be entrusted with a separate estate. The plan was put into execution by the unanimous opinion of the brothers concerned and the sardars of the state. The districts of Aonla, Manauna, Budaun, Oashat and

Kot, etc., yielding an annual income of thirteen lakhs of rupees, were assigned to 'Abdullah Khan and Murtaza Khan, one of the younger brothers who was assigned to his charge. Bareilly and Ahrat, etc., were given to Faizullah Khan and his younger brother Muhammad Yar Khan was placed under him. Muradabad with adjoining districts, with an income of thirteen lakhs of rupees, was allotted to Nawab Sa'dullah Khan and Sahibzada Allah Yar Khan was put under his tutelage. All the brothers agreed to this division of the Rohilla kingdom and every one of them gave an undertaking not to go against it. The agreement was signed and sealed by all prominent sardars.

Nawab Sa'dullah Khan returned to Muradabad, while Faizullah Khan and 'Abdullah Khan settled down in Aonla and took residence in the fort of the late Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan. Nawab Sa'dullah Khan's going away to Muradabad, and Nawab 'Abdullah Khan's occupation of Aonla, the capital of Rohilla kingdom, signified that all power and authority had passed from Sa'dullah Khan to 'Abdullah Khan and that Nawab Sa'dullah Khan had relinquished the charge which was given him after the death of his father. Some historians, bearing ill-will towards Hafiz-ul-Mulk, among whom are included Sir John Stratchy and Maulvi Najm-ul-Ghani Khan of Rampur, have criticised the partition and the territorial re-adjustment effected under it. According to them Hafiz Rahmat Khan was not pleased at heart at the prospect of seeing his own authority and prestige undermined

but circumstances forced him to give his consent to it. Hence he deliberately arranged the partition in such a way as to result in mutual friction and unrest so that the reins of authority might remain in his hands. With this end in view he divided the country into three parts, placing each part under the joint partnership of two brothers.

We should not forget that it was Hafiz-ul-Mulk himself who had striven hard to secure the release of 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan and it was he who invited them to Rohilkhand. This clearly shows that he desired at heart that by mutual consent one of the brothers assumed ruling power over Rohilkhand. This proves that considerations of self-advancement and personal aggrandisement were foreign to his nature. He was swayed by such considerations neither on the historic occasion when he was offered the crown by the late Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan which he voluntarily placed on the head of Sa'dullah Khan; nor did he allow them to affect his decision when he invested the sons of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan with ruling powers over the Rohilla territory. Hafiz-ul-Mulk partitioned the country among the sons of his late friend and benefactor in spite of his absolute authority over the sardars and the people of the country and proved his sincerity and love towards his patron's successors. One can accuse him of an error of judgment in parcelling out territory and introducing the principle of co-partnership which paved the path for mutual squabbles and anarchy in the near future; but by no stretch of imagination this arrangement can be

attributed to his evil intention or selfish designs. The sons of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan had already fallen out among themselves. It is, therefore, not surprising that their mutual quarrels were intensified after the partition. The fact that two brothers were made to share one *jagir* was mainly due to the consideration that the three younger brothers were minor and needed to be placed under the wardship of their senior brothers. Historians have cast slur on Hafiz-ul-Mulk in order to tarnish his reputation and discredit his name in the eyes of later generations; but in this they have not succeeded. In Rohilkhand even now, after the lapse of more than a century and a half, his name and deeds are remembered with great esteem and applause.

3. Rivalry between 'Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan: attempt on Hafiz-ul-Mulk's life: third partition of Rohilkhand.

Nawab 'Abdullah Khan soon after his investment with ruling power, alienated his nobles and sardars by his evil temper and harsh policy. He fell out with his younger brother, Murtaza Khan. The result was that their respective followers began to exchange blows in the streets of the city openly almost daily. They even plundered the bazar.[1] Nawab 'Abdullah Khan bore grudge against his brother Faizullah Khan who was not even his co-sharer in patrimony. One night he raided Faizullah Khan's residence with the intention of putting him to death. Faizullah Khan ran in fear to Hafiz-ul-Mulk and in a state of great consternation called him out. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was offering late night prayer at that time. When

1 *'Akhbar-us-Sanadid*, 1916.

he came to know that Faizullah Khan was knocking at his door, he called him in, consoled him and made him stay in his house.

Nawab 'Abdullah Khan got irritated with Hafiz-ul-Mulk also and planned to take his life, because he regarded him as the main obstacle in the way of his freedom to give full play to his ambitious but irresponsible plans. He sent poisoned food to Hafiz-ul-Mulk several times, but, having got timely warning, Hafiz-ul-Mulk refused to partake of it. Thus foiled in his nefarious plans, he, one day, sent for Hafiz Sahib on the pretext of consulting him on a private affair, and stationed some of his men, fully armed, behind the curtains with instructions to fall upon Hafiz-ul-Mulk and make a short work of him when he was in. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk was suspicious of the intentions of 'Abdullah Khan. He, therefore, took his trustworthy servants and nobles, such as Dundey Khan, Abdul Sattar Khan and Fateh Khan, with him. When they got to the courtyard of 'Abdullah Khan's house, the men concealed behind the curtains got frightened and ran to 'Abdullah Khan who was seated in his room in the upper storey. Hafiz-ul-Mulk observed the hirelings and returned without having a meeting with 'Abdullah Khan. He now sought the advice of the nobles of Kather and sent word to 'Abdullah Khan to leave Rohilkhand, which he did, out of shame. Wandering about aimlessly, and in miserable plight for a few months, he, at last, went to Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad and besought him to use his good offices to bring about conciliation between

him and Hafiz-ul-Mulk. 'Ahmad Khan wrote to Hafiz-ul-Mulk repeatedly and succeeded with great difficulty in disabusing the mind of Hafiz-ul-Mulk to the extent that the latter agreed to receive 'Abdullah Khan. In a personal interview with Hafiz-ul-Mulk at Aonla, 'Abdullah Khan begged pardon for his past misdeeds and misbehaviour. Hafiz-ul-Mulk treated him kindly and assigned to him the *jagir* of Sahaswan and Ujhyani in the district of Budaun. This new assignment brought to the fore the need of revising the entire arrangement of the fiefs of Faizullah Khan and Sa'dullah Khan. In the new dispensation, Faizullah Khan was given Shahabad, Rampur and Chachhat in Bareilly. Sa'dullah Khan, whom Hafiz-ul-Mulk preferred to all other brothers, was called to Aonla from Muradabad. His old *jagir* and the sum of eight lakhs of rupees, per year, were restored to him. This third partition of the Rohilla territory took place in 1754.

4. Hafiz-ul-Mulk shifts his residence from Aonla to Bareilly. Prior to this partition Hafiz-ul-Mulk and many other prominent Afghan nobles resided in Aonla which was the capital. But now they abandoned this place. 'Abdullah Khan shifted to Ujhyani and Sa'dullah Khan to Uttar Chhaindi—four mile east to Aonla. Dundey Khan built a strong fort at Bisauli and made it his headquarters. Bisauli, originally an insignificant place, rose to the status of a big town, where Dundey Khan built a bazar, mosque and baths. Fateh Khan *Khan-i-Saman* built a fort at Ushat. He sometime went to reside at Budaun. Bakhshi Sardar

Khan remained at Aonla. Nawab Faizullah Khan settled in Bareilly and raised many buildings[1] there. After a time he shifted to Shahabad. Hafiz-ul-Mulk also set up his headquarters at Bareilly and settled one of his wives and the eldest son, 'Inayat Khan, in the Bareilly fort. His other wives and relations went to live in Pilibhit which was given the name of Hafizabad. A big palace, Dewan-i-'Am, Dewan-i-Khas and a magnificent Juma Masjid were built at Pilibhit.

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[1] The buildings of Nawab Faizullah Khan are now occupied by the sons of late Nawab Khwaja Miyan.

CHAPTER XVI

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Role in Delhi Politics

1. Safdar Jang's revolt against the king : Hafiz-ul-Mulk sets out for Delhi with forty thousand men. 2. Rise of Najib Khan : His defection from Hafiz-ul-Mulk. 3. Deposition of the Emperor Ahmad Shah. 4. Third expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali to India. 5. Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Shah Abdali cultivate friendly relations. 6. 'Imad-ul-Mulk invades Shuja -ud-Doulah: Hafiz-ul-Mulk brings about peace. 7. Najib-ud-Doulah and 'Imad-ul Mulk. 8. Maratha attack on Najib-ud-Doulah. Battle of Sukkurtal Marathas at the zenith of power. 9. Najib-ud-Doulah appeals to Hafiz-ul-Mulk for help. 10. Murder of 'Alamgir II. 11. Fourth expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali. 12. Hafiz-ul-Mulk realises tribute from Surajmal under Ahmad Shah's order. 13. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's place in the court of Ahmad Shah Abdali. 14. Hafiz-ul-Mulk brings about conciliation between Abdali and Ahmad Khan Bangash.

When Hafiz-ul-Mulk was occupied with his internal affairs, the Imperial capital, Delhi, was in the throes of an internal upheaval. During the absence of Safdar Jang in Rohilkhand, Jawed Khan, the eunuch had acquired great influence at the Imperial court. He enjoyed the favour of the Emperor Ahmad Shah and his mother. This inflamed fire of jealousy in the heart of Safdar Jang. Forgetting his own obligations in the past to Jawed Khan, he one day managed to inveigle him into his house on the pretext of a banquet and taking him into a cellar put him to death. Ahmad Shah was highly enraged on this gruesome murder of his trusted servant at the instigation of Safdar Jang and relieved him of the office of Wizarat which was now entrusted to Ghazi-ud-din Khan

'Imad-ul-Mulk. Safdar Jang left Delhi in a sullen mood and set up his camp at some distance from the capital to be out of the reach of the royal vindictiveness. He tried his best to soften the embittered feelings of the Emperor, but having failed in his attempt, he resolved on war. 'Imad-ul-Mulk also got ready and war broke out.

1. Safdar Jang's revolt against the king: Hafiz-ul-Mulk sets out for Delhi with forty thousand men.

But Safdar Jang soon realised that chances of his success against the Royal forces were scanty. He, therefore, sent a letter to Hafiz-ul-Mulk requesting him to come to his assistance in fulfilment of the pledge of friendship and mutual succour recently made. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, who always honoured his words, started without any hesitation with an army of forty thousaud foot and horse for Delhi. When he arrived near Hapur, the Emperor sent his emissaries to Hafiz-ul-Mulk with a Royal *Firman*, containing the following message, "You have always been loyal to the rulers of Dehli. Now that Safdar Jang has rebelled and shown arrogance, it behoves you to come to our court and chastise the rebel, so that in return for your good services you may earn more favour from us.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk sent the following reply to the imperial *Firman*, "There is a solemn agreement of mutual alliance between us and Safdar Jang which we cannot dishonour." He postponed his advance pending the receipt of another Royal *Firman*, A few days

after, the following *Firman* was received, "If you deem it a breach of promise to present yourself before us, it would be proper for you to retrace your steps to your territory, because to ally with a rebel is contrary to the faith and principle of Islam." Hafiz-ul-Mulk, on receiving this *Firman*, gave up the idea of helping Safdar Jang in his rebellion and communicating his decision to Safdar Jang, he returned to Rohil-khand.

2. Rise of Najib Khan: his defection from Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

In Hafiz-ul-Mulk's army there was a contingent under Nawab Dundey Khan. In this contingent there was one Jamadar, named Najib Khan, son of Asalat Khan Umarkhel. He had one hundred troopers under his command. Najib Khan came to India with his uncle Basharat Khan from the village Manarai situated at a distance of thirty-three miles from Peshawar across the Attock. Beginning his career with plundering expeditions, he gathered under him one hundred armed men. When he came into contact with Dundey Khan at Bisauli, the latter persuaded him to give up brigandage and took him into his own service. He appointed him a commandant of one hundred soldiers and assigned to him the *Pargana* of Daranagar. After some time Dundey Khan gave his daughter in marriage to Najib Khan and kept him as Jamadar at the head of a body of his soldiers. Najib Khan fought under Dundey Khan in several battles on the side of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. At this time when Hafiz-ul-Mulk was encamping near Delhi Dundey Khan[1] who

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1 "*Tarikh Najibabad*" by Maulana Akbar Shah Khan.

could not join Hafiz-ul-Mulk's force and sent a detachment of his own under the command of Najib Khan.

When Hafiz-ul-Mulk declined the Royal offer to join the Imperial side and made ready to depart to his country, the Royal emissaries tried to win over some of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's followers to help the Emperor against Safdar Jang. But none except Najib Khan yielded to their enticement. He accepted a large amount of money from the Royal agents and with this wealth he won over the poor and greedy soldiers of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and left for Delhi without seeking permission from Hafiz-ul-Mulk. On returning home the Rohilla leader complained to Dundey Khan against the treacherous conduct of Najib Khan, but the latter set his mind at rest by offering many excuses and palliatives for his son-in-law's conduct. In Delhi Najib Khan was presented to the Wazir 'Imad-ul-Mulk and Emperor Ahmad Shah through the good offices of Mir Munaqib. He was deputed to capture several trenches of Safdar Jang which he did without delay. The war between the Emperor and Safdar Jang dragged on for six months in the course of which Najib Khan by his brilliant achievements greatly impressed the Emperor and other nobles of his court. When Safdar Jang came to the end of his resources, he sought the intercession of Najib Khan to gain Royal pardon of his misdeeds. Najib Khan performed this difficult task with consummate adroitness, prudence and tact. He secured complete pardon for Safdar Jang. In recognition of his laudable services and praiseworthy work

Najib Khan was given the title of Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah and a *jagir* comprising of the districts of Bijnore, Saharanpur and Meerat. Najib Khan, who had now become Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah, went to his new *jagir* after a short stay in Delhi. By liquidating the notorious decoit Ajit Singh he annexed the district of Muzaffarnagar also to his *jagir*. The same year, he laid the foundation of the city of Najibabad, called after his own name, on the left bank of the river Malni[1] on a site well marked out for natural beauty and attractiveness.

Soon after the close of the war in 1754, Safdar Jang died of a carbuncle in Delhi.[2] His mausoleum, situated near the shrine of Khwaja Nizamuddin Aulia at Delhi is a grand structure. His son Shuja'-ud-Doulah succeeded him as the Nawab of Oudh.

3. Deposition of the Emperor Ahmad Shah. In 1754, when Ghazi-ud-din[3] 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the Wazir, had acquired complete control of state affairs in Delhi, he, abusing his power, deposed and blinded the Emperor and his mother and placed them in confinement. A new king 'Azizuddin, great grand son of Aurangzeb, was seated upon the throne under the title of 'Alamgir II. At the same time the governor of Lahore, Moinuddin, known as Mir Munnu, died of a fall from the horse and the work of administration of Lahore province devolved upon his wife. On receiving the news of these happenings in the Punjab, 'Imad-ul-Mulk hastened for Lahore.

1 *'Gul-i-Rahmat'* p. 77.
2 *ibid*. p. 78.
3 Ghazi-ud-din Khan was grandson of Chain Qulich Khan Asifjah, the founder of Hyderabad State.

He confined the widow of Mir Munnu in the Lahore fort and made over the governorship of Lahore to Adina Beg Khan for thirty lakhs of rupees. The Wazir, then, returned to Delhi with the prince.

4. Third expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali to India.

Mir Munnu was the nominee of Ahmad Shah Abdali to the governorship of Lahore. When the Afghan king heard that Adina Beg had been given the charge of Lahore, he greatly resented it. In 1756, he proceeded to Lahore in hot haste to punish Adina Beg who had no pluck to oppose the Afghan invaders and took to his heels. The Abdali king, after occupying Lahore, advanced upon Delhi to punish 'Imad-ul-Mulk for interfering in the affairs of Lahore. After forced marches he approached Delhi and encamped twenty miles off the Mughal capital. 'Imad-ul-Mulk found safety in surrender, and presented himself before the Afghan king in a penitent mood. The king would have ordered for his execution, but his Chief Minister, Shah Wali Khan, and the widow of late Mir Munnu assuaged his wrath and secured pardon for the Wazir. Najib-ud-Doulah was also presented before the Afghan king and received from him many honours.

5. Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Shah Abdali cultivate friendly relations.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk established contact with Ahmad Shah Abdali by sending a goodwill mission consisting of Nawab Sa'dullah Khan and Yaqub 'Ali Khan, cousin of Shah Wali Khan, who had settled down in Rohilkhand some years ago. They waited upon the Afghan king with suitable presents and rare gifts, which were

accepted by the king. He expressed his appreciation of the presents and sent the following letter, signifying his pleasure, to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, "'Imad-ul-Mulk has been directed to proceed to Oudh with a small force to realise tribute from Shuja'-ud-Doulah. If he were to evade the payment and 'Imad-ul-Mulk desire your help, you should get there for his help promptly."

6. 'Imad-ul-Mulk invades Shuja'-ud-Doulah and Hafiz-ul-Mulk brings about peace.

'Imad-ul-Mulk reached the Oudh boundary by way of Farrukhabad. Shuja'-ud-Doulah also got ready for a fight. He came to Sandipali situated at a distance of sixty-eight miles from Lucknow and set up his camps there. 'Imad-ul-Mulk could not muster sufficient courage to face Shuja'-ud-Doulah single handed. So he wrote to Hafiz-ul-Mulk to come to his help and the latter complied. Now, the fortune of war turned in favour of 'Imad-ul-Mulk. Shuja'-ud-Doulah, realising the critical situation, sent a letter to Hafiz-ul-Mulk in which he wrote, "'Imad-ul-Mulk is thirsting for my destruction on account of our old enmity. He is not disposed to making terms with me. You are like an uncle to me. Kindly exert your prudence to bring about peace and secure goodwill of the Afghan king for me."

Hafiz-ul-Mulk, in view of the intimate relations he had with Safdar Jang, despatched an encouraging reply to Shuja'-ud-Doulah and began to find out ways and means to effect a peaceful settlement. In the meantime the agents of Shuja'-ud-Doulah approached 'Imad-ul-Mulk and offered to pay the amount demanded by the Afghan king. But 'Imad-ul-Mulk was

intent upon the total destruction and humiliation of the Nawab Wazir, and, consequently, he made an exorbitant demand which, it was obviously beyond the means of Shuja'-ud-Doulah to meet. Simultaneously he started making raids upon Shuja'-ud-Doulah. Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not approve of the tactics of 'Imad-ul-Mulk and with a view to hastening negotiations for peace he secretly sent Nawab Sa'dullah Khan to join the camp of Shuja'-ud-Doulah. He, then, wrote to 'Imad-ul-Mulk, "You might have heard that Nawab Sa'dullah Khan, urged by his youthful impulses, has made common cause with Shuja'-ud-Doulah. Shuja'-ud-Doulah is willing to pay tribute according to his capacity. The Afghan king has commanded us to help you, if, in consequence of the non-payment of dues by Shuja'-ud-Doulah, fighting becomes indispensable. Hence, my advice to you is to make peace with Shuja'-ud-Doulah, otherwise, we will return to our country and send a full report of what has transpired here to the king of Afghanistan."

'Imad-ul-Mulk knew that he alone could not stand against Shuja'-ud-Doulah. He, therefore, agreed to conclude peace. Shuja'-ud-Doulah made an offer of fifty lakhs of rupees through Hafiz-ul-Mulk. Peace was, therefore, concluded. Hafiz-ul-Mulk returned to Rohilkhand and started preparations to call on Ahmad Shah Abdali in his camp. Meanwhile, the Afghan king after capturing a few strongholds, belonging to the Jat ruler Surajmal, plundered Mathura. But from this place he was forced to go back to Qandahar because a pestilence had broken out in his army. At a place

called Tālāb khand, the Emperor 'Alamgir II and Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah sought an audience with Ahmad Shah to discuss imperial affairs. They complained against 'Imad-ul-Mulk who was staying at that time with Ahmad Khan Bangash at Farrukhabad. This resulted in his dismissal from the post of Wizarat. In his place Najib-ud-Doulah was appointed Wazir by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Before leaving for Qandahar the Afghan king granted another interview to Yaqub 'Ali Khan, agent of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, and sent a robe of honour with a *Firman* to Hafiz-ul-Mulk. Yaqub 'Ali Khan met Hafiz-ul-Mulk at Bareilly and gave him the royal present and *Firman*, which Hafiz-ul-Mulk received with great honour and respect.

7. Najib-ud-Doulah and 'Imad-ul-Mulk. Najib-ud-Doulah now set to look after the administration of Delhi empire as the Chief Minister of the Mughal Emperor. Ghazi-ud-din Khan was stunned at this news, but recovered swiftly to turn the table upon Najib-ud-Doulah. He collected a force of the Jats and combined them with the forces of Ahmad Khan Bangash. He also appealed to Raghu-Nath Rao or Raghuba, Mulhar Rao Hulkar and other Maratha sardars to come to his help. They all responded to his appeal and the combined forces surrounded Delhi and laid siege to it. Alamgir II and Najib-ud-Doulah defended themselves with firm tenacity for forty-five days. Najib-ud-Doulah made a secret deal with the Marathas, who, in return for a large amount of money, allowed him to escape to Saharanpur with his personal effects. 'Imad-ul-Mulk entered Delhi and the Emperor had to invest him

again with the office of the Wizarat. The prince 'Ali Gauhar, for fear of 'Imad-ul-Mulk's revenge, left Delhi and lived with Najib-ud-Doulah for eight months, after which he proceeded to Bengal by way of Muradabad and Bareilly. At Bareilly he was warmly received by 'Inayat Khan, on behalf of his father Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

8. Maratha attack on Najib-ud-Doulah: Battle of Sukkurtal: Marathas at the zenith of power.

Ghazi-ud-din had regained the Wizarat with the help of the Maratha leaders, Mulhar Rao and Raghunath Rao, who escorted him to Delhi and acquired domination over the Mughal court. Having entrenched their position at the Imperial capital, the Marathas invaded the Punjab. They defeated the Afghan governor of the Punjab, a nominee of the Abdali king, and in 1758 extended their sway over the whole of the Punjab, up to the river Attock. The Maratha power extending from Cuttock to Attock was now at its zenith. 'Imad-ul-Mulk was highly gratified with the unchallenged domination of his allies and imitating Safdar Jang, who had undertaken the extermination of the Bangash and the Rohilla Afghans with the help of the Marathas, he sought to utilise their collusion for undermining the nascent power of Najib-ud-Doulah. The Marathas had formulated their own plan to conquer the whole of India. They dominated the Imperial politics and led the Emperor and his minister by the nose. The kingdoms of Najib-ud-Doulah, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Shuja'-ud-Doulah and a few other Muslim states were the only thorns in their side. Ghazi-ud-din Khan's proposal to destroy a

strong rising Muslim power amply fitted with their ambitious scheme of reviving Hindu empire in the country. They hailed it as a godsend for translating their dreams into reality. Raghuba's deputy, Dutta Scindia, attacked Najib-ud-Doulah with an army of one lakh and twenty-five thousand men. He also sent another Maratha military commandant to plunder the Rohillas. This commandant, named Govind Rai Pandit, ravaged the entire Rohilla territory up to Amroha, burnt one thousand and three hundred villages to ashes and prevented the supplies of provisions to Najib-ud-Doulah. The Nawab emerging from Najibabad extrenched himself at Sukkurtal, in the Muzaffarnagar district and prepared to wage a defensive war against the Marathas.

9. Najib-ud-Doulah appeals to Hafiz-ul-Mulk for help.

Najib-ud-Doulah was conscious of his helplessness in the face of the superior Maratha power. He, therefore, sent a letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali impressing upon him the gravity of the Maratha menace, which, he represented, was a serious challenge to the very existence of the Muslims in India. He urged upon him to march to India to save the Muslims from complete annihilation.[a] He addressed Hafiz-ul-Mulk also saying, "Imad-ul-Mulk, by paying a few lakhs of rupees to the Maratha leaders, has invited an immense army from the Deccan and he is aiming at my ruination. As I am no match to the Maratha hosts in an open engagement, I have entrenched myself at Sukkurtal to mark time till you will have arrived for my helps.'

Immediately on receiving this letter Hafiz-ul-Mulk left for Sukkurtal at the head of a considerable force. He also appealed to Shuja'-ud-Doulah to join them in the war against the Marathas, saying that if the Marathas got an upper hand over Najib-ud-Doulah and the Rohillas, they would not spare Oudh. Shuja'-ud-Doulah was not slow to take the hint. Not caring for the rains, he set out for the help of the Afghans and reached Shahabad from Lucknow. He was waiting for the flood to subside before he crossed the river, when Govind Pandit by order of Dutta Scindia, attacked Shuja'-ud-Doulah with a force of twenty-five thousand armed men, but sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the army of the Gosains,(b) who were in the service of the Nawab Wazir. Shuja'-ud-Doulah now crossed the river and joined Hafiz-ul-Mulk. When the combined forces of the Nawab Wazir and Hafiz-ul-Mulk arrived at Hasanpur, they learned that the Marathas had thrown a bridge across the river near Sukkurtal and intended to surprise Najib-ud-Doulah. Hafiz-ul-Mulk lost no time in despatching an advance party of four thousand men under Bakhshi Sardar Khan to be followed by other contingents to stand at the bank of the river Ganges in front of Sukkurtal and to wait there for the arrival of the main force. Bakhshi Sardar Khan carried out the instructions but he was surrounded by a vastly superior Maratha force and was forced to give battle. The contingents marching to his assistance heard the report that Sardar Khan had been encircled by the Marathas; they, therefore, made a dash to join him. The Marathas

on the arrival of Rohilla re'nforcement had to leave the field in confusion and recrossed the river. When Hafiz-ul-Mulk got intelligence of these fateful happenings, he lost no time in arriving at the bank of the Ganges and taking measures to cross the river in order to reach Sukkurtal. The Marathas surveyed the situation and decided to intercept the armies of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Shuja'-ud-Doulah to prevent their junction with Najib-ud-Doulah. For this purpose they ordered their colossal army to recross the river. The allies had but very little hope of success against the Maratha hordes and it appeared that despondency was creeping over them. But at this critical moment the news arrived that Ahmad Shah Abdali was marching to India. This electrified the besieged garrison at Sukkurtal and infused a new spirit of hope in the armies of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Shuja'-ud-Doulah. The Maratha leaders, on the other hand, became depressed and crest-fallen. They gave up the idea of continuing the siege of Sukkurtal and contending with Hafiz-ul-Mulk. Abandoning the siege they made a dash to Lahore to check the advance of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

10. Murder of 'Alamgir II. 'Imad-ul-Mulk, leaving the Marathas, returned to Delhi. Fearing lest the Mughal Emperor 'Alamgir II should appraise Ahmad Shah Abdali of his misdeeds and even hand him over to the Afghan king, and reinstate Najib-ud-Doulah as Wazir, he made up his mind to put the Emperor to death along with Intizam-ud-Doulah Khan-e-Khana. The Emperor was passing his

miserable days in solitude taking no interest in the business of the Government. He mostly lived in the society of holy *Faqirs*, in whom he had great faith. Mehdi 'Ali Khan, an accomplice of Ghazi-ud-din, one day informed the Emperor that a highly accomplished saint had been living at Firoz Shah Kotla and greatly applauded his virtues and wonder working powers. A simpleton, as the Emperor was, he, unaware of Mehdi Ali's perfidy, started with a guard to pay homage to the super-human recluse. As he arrived at the first gate, Mehdi 'Ali Khan took away the sword from his hand and as he passed in, the door was bolted. The king's son-in-law, Mirza Babar, who had accompanied the king, saw the danger, drew his sword and wounded one of the conspirators. But several persons secured him in their power and sent him off to the fort Salimgarh as a prisoner. Inside the room the Emperor, instead of feasting his eyes upon the holy saint, found himself in the grip of angels of death in the shape of four Uzbek murderers with naked drawn swords in their hands. They fell upon him, severed his head from the body and threw the body on the sands of the river Jumna. Even the dead body was stripped of all clothes and it was several days after, that it was laid to rest in the precincts of the mausoleum of Humayun.

This brutal incident happened in November, 1759.[1] Ghazi-ud-din Khan raised another member of the Mughal imperial family—a grandson of Aurangzeb—to the throne with the title of Shahjahan II. But

1 *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* by Maulvi Zaka-Ullah.

nobody acknowledged the new king, as the real claimant to the throne, prince 'Ali Gauhar, was alive in Bengal. Ghazi-ud-din waited in Delhi for a few days to receive the glad tidings of the victory of the Marathas over Ahmad Shah Abdali. Contrary to his expectation, word was brought to him that with the crossing of Attock by the Afghan king, the Marathas had forsaken the Punjab and dispersed. Now fear and frustration overtook Ghazi-ud-din and he sought shelter with Surajmal, the Jat.

11. Fourth expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah on receiving the news of the Afghan king's reoccupation of the Punjab proceeded to welcome him. Hafiz-ul-Mulk preferrd to remain where he was and Shuja'-ud-Doulah returned to Oudh. When the Afghan king crossed the Jumna, Hafiz-ul-Mulk met him in the Doab and received many favours and honours from him. Ahmad Shah Abdali proceeded to Delhi in the company of Najib-ud-Doulah and Hafiz-ul-Mulk and was preparing to cross the Jumna when the Maratha leaders, Dutta Patel and his nephew Jhankoji, brought their vast forces on the other side of the river and arranged them in battle array in an open space 'Baoli', in the vicinity of Delhi. The Afghan king ordered his artillery to open fire at the enemy, and by their fusillade they threw the army of the Marathas into great consternation. Dutta Patel himself was struck dead by an incidental canon-ball from the Afghan artillery. The death of their sardar was a signal for the Marathas to leave the field in great confusion. The Afghan

king, then, gave orders that each Afghan horseman should take with him one soldier from the army of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Najib-ud-Doulah, cross the river and pursue the fleeing Marathas up to the gates of Delhi. This was done. Many Marathas were killed and plundered. The next day the Abdali king with Najib-ud-Doulah and Hafiz-ul-Mulk made a triumphant entry into Delhi. [1]

The conqueror set himself to the task of improving the administration of Delhi which had been thrown into great confusion. For the time being he permitted Shah Jehan II to remain on the throne and appointed his own man Yaqub 'Ali Khan as the steward of the fort. He then received a report that Jhankoji was marching upon Rohilkhand. The Afghan king leaving Hafiz-ul-Mulk to look after his main force, proceeded at the head of his picked men to teach a lesson to the Marathas and defeated them completely at Narnol. This was followed by another report of the activities of the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali received the news that Mulhar Rao Hulkar had arrived in the vicinity of Sikandra and that he was making an alliance with Surajmal Jat to drive the Abdalis beyond the Attock. On hearing this, Ahmad Shah Abdali ordered his generals—Shah Pasand Khan and Shah Qalandar Khan—to deliver an assault on the troops of the Marathas. These two officers, taking with them fifteen thousand men, traversed a distance of seventy miles and surprised the Marathas. Hulkar was frightened

1 *Sair-ul-Muta'<u>kh</u>ereen.*—(*Author.*)

out of his wits at the unexpected appearance of the Afghans and fled to a place of safety with only three hundred troopers on horses without saddles.[1] The major portion of the Maratha army either fell to the sword or was captured and a huge booty came into the possession of the Afghans. Ahmad Shah now thought of settling account with Surajmal Jat, and by making forced marches captured many of his possessions including Koil, where he set up his camp to pass the rainy season which had commenced.

12. Hafiz-ul-Mulk realised tribute from Surajmal under Ahmad Shah's order.

After a fortnight, Hafiz-ul-Mulk also joined the Royal camp with the Abdali's troops and camp equipage. By the Shah's order Hafiz-ul-Mulk went to Bharatpur to realise tribute from Surajmal. The later tried to evade compliance of the demand relying upon his well-disciplined large army and strong forts. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk brought him to a sense of reality by painting a true picture of the situation and thus prevailed upon him to pay a considerable part of the money demanded of him. On return to the camp of the Afghan ruler, he received a due tribute of encomium and plaudits.

13. Hafizul Mulk's place in the court of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Such distinguished services raised the position of Hafiz-ul-Mulk in the estimation of the Afghan king. He was admitted into the inner circle of his confidants. His place in the *Darbar* of Ahmad Shah was equal to that of the Chief Minister Shah Wali Khan.

1 *Tarikh-e-Hindustan* by Maulvi Zaka-Ullah.

It has been mentioned that Ahmad Khan Bangash had lent his support to 'Imad-ul-Mulk in his evil designs against Najib-ud-Doulah and 'Alamgir II. Similarly Shuja'-ud-Doulah did not like to worsen his relations' with the Marathas, because he knew that Ahmad Shah would not stay long in India. After the battle of Sukkurtal, Shuja'-ud-Doulah had started negotiations with the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali had full appraisal of these facts. Consequently he made up his mind to test the *bona fides* of both Ahmad Khan and Shuja'-ud-Doulah, so that he might have a clear idea of his friends and foes. He, therefore, issued *Firmans* to both of them.

14. Hafiz-ul-Mulk brings about conciliation between Abdali and Ahmad Khan Bangash.

Ahmad Khan Bangash on receiving the *Firman* arrived at the Royal camp which was set up at that time at Anoopshahr. He was taken to the presence of the king by Hafiz-ul-Mulk and received many favours from him. Najib-ud-Doulah was entrusted with the task of carrying on negotiations with Shuja'-ud-Doulah. A treaty of alliance was arranged between them, and Shuja'-ud-Doulah in the company of Najib-ud-Doulah came to the Afghan king who showed the same honour and favour to him as was done in the case of Ahmad Khan Bangash. In this way all the principal rulers of Northern India joined with Ahmad Shah in 1760. They unanimously resolved, under his leadership, to protect India from the Maratha menace and shield the Muslims from the ever-recurring raids and holocaust at the hands of the Maratha freebooters.

1 *'Tarikh-i-Hindustan'* by Maulvi Zaka-Ullah,

CHAPTER XVII

Hafiz-ul-Mulk Joins the Battle of Panipat

1. Peshwa sends Maratha army to the north. 2. The Marathas enter Delhi—and plunder it. 3. Sadashive Rao Bhau gains complete mastery at Delhi: disposes of Mughul kingship—his diplomacy. 4. Afghan-Maratha tussle at Kunjpura. 5. Ahmad Shah Abdali roused to action. 6. Marathas avoid pitched battle. 7. Supply bases of Afghans interrupted—Afghan king faces critical situation. 8. His bold action: details Afghan contingents against Govind Pant and Shanker Rao. 9. Inayat Khan, son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, joins the Afghan camp. 10. Marathas clash with the Rohillas: Inayat Khan's heroism. 11. Death of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's mother affects his participation in war. 12. The decisive battle. 13. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's return to Bareilly after the battle of Panipat. 14. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's arrival in Pilibhit.

The reports of the death of Duttaji and the reverses suffered by Holkar turned Balaji Peshwa[a] red with anger. He solemnly vowed to wreak terrible vengeance on Ahmad Shah Abdali and take over the throne of Delhi by destroying the last vestige of the dynasty of Babar. Balaji, during his rule, had raised the office of Peshwa to the highest pinnacle of glory. Under his overlordship, the Maratha power had risen to a position never attained before or since. It had extended up to the river Attock and the Himalaya mountains in the north, while in the south it touched the farthest corner of the Deccan peninsula, up to the sea. The states within Maratha dominion, but not under their direct control, had to acknowledge their supremacy by paying tribute to them. The Marathas had steadily made their way up from the lowest position of freebooters to the high status of regular sovereignty. They now employed high-salaried military officers to command their vast regular

army. They possessed, besides, ten thousand well-equipped soldiers, trained under European officers.[1]

1. Peshwa sends Maratha army to the north.

Highly indignant and thirsting for revenge, Balalji sent his cousin, Sadashive Rao Bhau[(b)], and his own son, Viswas Rao, to the north with enormous military equipments. The best and most experienced Maratha sardars accompanied them. Also with them were officers and men trained in European method of warfare, and a heavy train of artillery under the command of Ibrahim Khan Gardi who had served under the famous French General, Bussey.[(c)]

2. The Marathas enter Delhi and plunder it.

When this grand army of the Marathas reached Agra, Hulkar prevailed upon the Jat ruler, Surajmal, to join it with thirty thousand horsemen. Many Rajput sardars also threw in their lot with them.[(d)] At Mathra 'Imad-ul-Mulk allied himself with Bhau and they all made a junction with the forces of Janko and Mulhar Rao. As the river Jumna was in flood, due to rains, Bhau decided to capture Delhi first. The Marathas entered the capital and assaulted the fort. Yaqub 'Ali Khan,[(e)] *Qiladar*, resisted them and his Abdali followers drove out some of them who had broken through the Khizri Gate of the fort. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, thereupon, trained his guns on the balcony of the fort and shelled the main building which cracked at several

1 'History of India', Vol. V by Zaka-Ullah Khan.—*(Author)*.

places. Yaqub 'Ali Khan, finding further resistance of no avail, left the fort to join Ahmad Shah Abdali. The invaders entered the fort, played havoc with the magnificent buildings and plundered the property found in it, to their heart's content. The silver-covering of the Dewan Khas was removed. Even holy shrines like *Qadam Sharif* and the *Dargah of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Aulia* were not spared. They were desecrated for the sake of plundering the precious gold and silver articles believed to be stored therein.

3. Sadashive Rao Bhau gains complete mastery at Delhi—disposes of Mughul kingship—his diplomacy.

The Marathas passed the rainy season in Delhi and then prepared to cross the Jumna to deal with the Abdalis. Sadashive Rao Bhau desired that before leaving the capital, Visvas Rao, son of the Peshwa, be crowned king of Delhi. But he was advised to liquidate first the Afghan danger which was hanging over their heads. Bhau agreed to this counsel and deposing Shah Jehan II, he put upon the throne Mirza Jawan Bakhat, son of prince 'Ali Gauhar and appointed Shuja'-ud-Doulah as the Wazir in his absence. This step he took to create discord between Ahmad Shah and Shuja'ud-Doulah who was staying in the Afghan camp at the moment.

4. Afghan-Maratha tussel at Kunjpura.

Surajmal did not approve of these irresponsible actions of Bhau, left the Maratha camp secretly in disgust[1] and took his abode in his fort, Ballabh Garh to watch future developments. Having settled the affairs of Delhi to their satisfaction, the

[1] 'History of the Marathas' by Grant Duff.—(*Author*).

Marathas now turned towards Kunjpura which was the main base from which the Afghan king obtained provisions for his army. He had placed his trustworthy officers Abdus Samad Khan Abdali and Momin Khan there for this purpose. The principal Zamindar of Kunjpura was Najabat Khan.[g] He was secretly in league with the Marathas. He persuaded the Afghan officer Abdus Samad Khan to engage the Marathas in an open fight, while he entrenched himself in the fort. Abdus Samad Khan had a small army with him, but acting on the advice of Najabat Khan, he boldly sallied out of the fort and attacked the vastly superior forces of the Marathas. He was repulsed and, fighting a stout rearguard action, he retreated towards the fort.[1] But the treacherous Najabat Khan closed the door of the gate upon him and opened a devastating fire from his guns, stationed on the parapets of the fort. Abdus Samad Khan, hemmed in between the two hostile forces, made a desperate charge upon the Marathas and was killed with all his followers in fighting.

5. Ahmad Shah Abdali roused to action.

The report of this unequal fight provoked Ahmad Shah Abdali to an immediate action. He ordered Indian princes and rulers in his camp to send for their armies fortwith. Accordingly these forces joined the Afghan camp. Having arranged all these forces in proper order and making necessary preparations Ahmad Shah prepared to face the

1 *Gul-i-Rahmat* (Author).

Marathas. It is estimated that the Afghan king had collected an army of one lakh horse and foot, out of whom thirty thousand had come from Kabul with the king. Hafiz-ul-Mulk and his officers had brought an equal number of armed men. Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah had with him a force of fifteen thousand men, while Shuja'-ud-Doulah and Ahmad Khan Bangash contributed twenty thousand and six thousand men respectively. With this grand army Ahmad Shah Abdali arrived on the bank of the Ganges. Not finding it fordable he ordered that three bridges be constructed to enable the army to cross over to the other bank of the river. The Maratha army, hearing of the successful crossing of the Ganges by the enemy, started from Kunjpura and reached Panipat. Keeping the town behind them, the Maratha force,[1] consisting of three lac foot and horse, started preparations for a pitched battle with Afghans.

6. Marathas avoid pitched battle.

Ahmad Shah set up his tent at a distance of a few miles from the Maratha host at Panipat. The vanguards of both the adversaries came daily into clash, and the Marathas were worsted, almost invariably. Alarmed at the swift and successful manoeuvrings of the Afghans, the Marathas decided to avoid a pitched engagement with them and concentrated their efforts on preventing supplies from reaching the Afghan troops. They, accordingly, dug a deep and wide trench round their camp and

[1] The works 'Gul-i-Rahmat' and 'Tarikh-i-Najibabad' by Akbar Shah Khan give the number of Maratha forces at three lacs. In local tales current among people of Panipat the number is raised to nine lacs.

appointed Ibrahim Khan Gardi to guard it with his formidable artillery against any surprise advance of the enemy. Ahmad Shah, following the Maratha strategy, also erected an abattis of felled trees for the protection of his troops and commissioned a few trusted officers to scour the country to obtain supplies, and prevent any provision from reaching the Marathas camp. The result of tightening these measures was that the Marathas were soon brought to the point of starvation. A Jat Zamindar of Sirhind, of course, continued sending supplies of food grain regularly to their camp. But the Abdalis getting a clue to this swooped upon him. Thus the Marathas were reduced to sore straits for want of supply of essential commodities.

7. Supply bases of Afghans interrupted : Afghan king faces critical situation.

The Afghan king had been getting supplies of foodstuff from Rohilkhand. On an order from Bhau, Govind Pant spread his force of twenty-five thousand men at all points on the bank of the Jumna and cut off the line of communication and route of supplies through the Doab. This created a serious problem for the Afghans and their allies; since the price of foodstuff soared to dizzy height. Govind Pant not only interrupted supply of provisions to the Afghan camp, but also felt strong enough to contemplate an invasion of Rohilkhand.[1] Hafiz-ul-Mulk went in person to the Afghan king to explain to him the real situation.

1 *Gul-i-Rahmat* (Author).

8. His bold action: details Afghan contingents against Govind Pant and Shanker Rao.

At this moment two Afghan sardars, named Karim Dad Khan and Haji Atai Khan, nephew of the Prime Minister Shah Wali Khan, arrived from Afghanistan with a contingent of six thousand horsemen. They had hardly alighted from their horses, when Ahmad Shah ordered them to proceed against Govind Pant and bring his head to him. They at once set off with their contingent, reinforced by a portion of the Indian army to Ghazinagar, situated at a distance of 54 miles from Panipat. They first killed Shanker Rao, deputy of the *Qiladar* of the Delhi Fort, at Shahdara and then defeated the same day a large army of the Marathas stationed at Ghazinagar. Early next morning they surprised Govind Pant at Jalalabad and smashed his forces completely. The victorious Afghans collected immense booty, including the head of Govind Pant. The same day they recrossed the river and were able to present before sunset the heads of Govind Pant and his many companions, as trophies of war, to the Afghan king. These fearless and daring Afghan horsemen had performed incredible feats of valour and perseverance in covering a distance of 108 miles, including the return journey, in twenty-four hours, crossing the river twice, winning two small battles, followed by a major victory in which they obtained immense spoils of war.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, by his military prescience, had foreseen that victory against the Marathas depended on delaying as far as possible decisive

engagement with the vastly superior forces of the enemy. Consequently he manoeuvred to put off the day of the final and decisive battle. This resulted in aggravating distress of the Maratha hordes, caused by the fast dwindling stores of foodgrains and the daily accumulating dumps of sewage and rubbish round their tents.[1] Bhau, many a time, utilised the good offices of the obliging Shuja'-ud-Doulah to negotiate with the Afghan king for a truce.[2] But Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah countered such moves by his astuteness. His argument was that no sooner had the Afghans retraced their steps to Afghanistan than would the Marathas exterminate the Muslims in India. He emphasised that there was no alternative for them but to destory the Marathas or to sacrifice themselves at the altar of national weal.[3]

Ahmad Shah had pitched in front of the Marathas a red coloured canopy in which he used to offer the after sunrise prayer and take his meals at night. All day long he was moving on horse back to supervise the guards stationed at strategic posts and covered not less than fifty or sixty miles every day. At night he went round his troops and kept a picket of five thousand horsemen in as close an approximity of the enemy's camp as feasible.[4]

9. Inayat Khan, son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, joins the Afghan camp.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's eldest son, Inayat Khan, who was then

1 *Seirul-Mutakhherin* (Author).

2 *History of the Marathas* by Grant Duff (Author).

3 *Tarikh Najibabad* by Akbar Shah Khan (Author).

4 *Tarikh-i-Hindustan* by Uaka-Ullah Khan (Author).

only sixteen years (h) of age and whom Hafiz-ul-Mulk had left at Bareilly as his deputy, grew impatient to join the Afghan army at Panipat and show his own mettle in actual fighting. The Rohilla sardars tried to dissuade him from this rash adventure. But taking two hundred trustworthy followers with him he set off for Panipat and facing great dangers in the way joined his father in his camp. Hafiz-ul-Mulk outwardly scolded him for his audacity and youthful rashness, but inwardly he felt elated at the venturous spirit of his promising son. Next day Hafiz-ul-Mulk took 'Inayat Khan to Ahmad Shah Abdali. The king spoke to him thus, 'Oh Inayat Khan! hast thou come here to meet thy father or to save the Afghans from humiliation?' 'Inayat Khan said in reply, "Though my heart was craving to have a look at the blessed personality of my respected father, yet the real urge which has brought me here was my anxiety to vindicate the national honour of the Afghans.[1] The king greatly appreciated this reply and encouraged the youth in befitting words. A grand robe, a sword and a horse were bestowed upon 'Inayat Khan and he was enjoined to attend the royal court frequently. 'Inayat Khan complied with the orders of the king and received many and varied distinctions and honours at his hands.

10. Marathas clash with the Rohillas: 'Inayat Khan's heroism.

The Marathas soon found that they could not afford the luxury of sitting idle any longer. Under

1 *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* (*Author*).

the command of Mulhar Rao Hulkar, Bhau and other leaders, they risked a determined and well-planned attack upon Shah Wali Khan, Prime Minister of Ahmad Shah Abdali, at night between Nov. 29 and 30, 1761. The *Wazir* was so hard pressed that his capture by the enemy seemed imminent. But firmly supported by Najib-ud-Doulah he offered stout resistance and routed the Marathas.[1] Once Fateh Khan, brother of Ibrahim Khan Gardi, made a sudden night-attack on the entrenched position of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, but the Rohillas got alerted and defended themselves heroically till dawn, when the Marathas were forced to retire after sustaining a defeat. These sporadic inroads of the Marathas, however, failed to force the Afghan king to revise his strategy of war.

But the adventurous young Afghans began to gnaw at the leash and resented the restraint imposed upon their ebullient zeal for a head-on clash with the Marathas. 'Inayat Khan was foremost among them. One day, collecting his own men and some followers of Najib-ud-Doulah, he managed, without seeking the permission of his father or the king, to cross the ditch and fell upon the enemy killing several hundred of them. When the Marathas tried to encircle them, they broke through the enemy and took shelter behind their guns. Here they beat drums and sang national songs and betrayed no sign of fear or trepidity. In the meantime, a

1 *History of the Marathas* by Grant Duff (Author).

force of about forty thousand Marathas rushed furiously upon them under the impression that the main body of the Afghans had taken the field. The Afghan youths fought with grim determination and unflagging zeal and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. Ultimately, however, they had to give in under sheer weight of numbers and only a small number of them could manage to escape, covered with wounds. When they arrived at their camps they were still giving vent to their exuberant zeal by singing national songs and dancing wildly.

11. Death of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's mother affects his participation in battle.

In the midst of this crisis, Hafiz-ul-Mulk received the sad news of his mother's death at Hafizabad, modern Pilibhit. Ahmad Shah Abdali, on hearing the news, sent all his sardars to Hafiz-ul-Mulk to express his deep sense of grief, and also deputed his Chief Minister Shah Wali Khan to convey the royal message of condolence and sympathy to him. On the third day Ahmad Shah invited Hafiz-ul-Mulk to his camp, spoke in words of consolation and sympathy to him and clothed him with a mourning robe. But the Hafiz was so bore down and overwhelmed with grief that he was laid up with fever and delirium. He had not yet left his bed when on the fateful 7th January, 1761, the great battle of Panipat took place. He could not show his mettle in this critical fight, but his son 'Inayat Khan and his trustworthy officers like Dundey Khan and Faizullah Khan gave a good account of themselves at the field of Panipat.[1]

1 *Gulistan-e-Rahmat*—(Author).

12. The decisive battle. On the 6th January, 1761, the Maratha leaders held a council of war in which they decided to abandon the delaying tactics and take the field to fight out a decisive battle with the Afghan invaders. The sardars chewed betel-leaves and took a vow to fight to the end. They sent words among their troops that the next morning would be the day of the final struggle. But at this critical juncture Bhau, the commander of the Maratha forces, betrayed an uncanny feeling of despondency and frustration. His usual buoyancy of spirit and sturdy confidence left him, which seems strange, considering the comparatively small number of the Afghan soldiers put in the field against his vastly superior forces. In this wavering mood and with feelings of misgivings he sent Kashi Rao, at dead of night, with a letter to Shuja'-ud-Doulah in which he wrote, "The cup is now brimful and it cannot contain a single drop more. If possible, do something at once"[1]. Simultaneously with the delivery of this letter a report from his footman informed Shuja'-ud-Doulah that the Marathas had emerged from their tents and were advancing minilitary order to the field of the battle. The Nawab Wazir presented himself at the camp of Ahmad Shah Abdali without any loss of time. The king was elsaep, but his horse, in full harness, was standing outside the camp. Shuja-'ud-Doulah got him awakened and informed him that the Maratha army had moved to the battlefield. The Afghan king jumped on the back of the

1 *Histtory of the Marathas* by Grant Duff (Author).

horse and taking Shuja'-ud-Doulah with him on another horse galloped off to watch the movement of the enemy. He saw with his own eyes the movements of the Maratha troops who were taking positions in the field. He said to Shuja'-ud-Doulah, "Your information is correct." Immediately he sent word to his troops to get ready for the battle in the following morning. The remaining part of the night was spent by the belligerents in making preparations for the grand and fateful showdown. On the 7th January, 1761, Sadashive Rao Bhau rode at the head of his army on an elephant and ordered his men to advance in the direction of the enemy lines. Ibrahim Khan Gardi with his heavy train of artillery and the main body of the Maratha soldiers was placed in charge of the advanceguard. The other experienced generals were posted in the centre and on either wing. The Afghan and Indian commanders had marshalled their contingents in such a way that Shuja'-ud-Doulah and Najib-ud-Doulah were brought face to face with Mulhar Rao Hulkar and Jhunkoji Scindia; while the Rohillas and Ahmad Khan Bangash faced Ibrahim Khan Gardi and the Maratha sardars under him. When Ibrahim Khan's guns opened fire, the immediate targets were the forces of Hafiz-ul-Mulk under the command of 'Inayat Khan, Dundey Khan and Faizullah Khan who came within the direct range of the deadly cannonade of Ibrahim's artillery. The Afghans tried to fight a defensive battle and also firmly stuck to their guns in order to get close to

Ibrahim Khan, caring little for the terrible loss in killed and wounded. Ibrahim Khan was an expert cannoneer. With a heavy cannon fire, he continued to advance against the Rohillas and succeeded in breaking up their formation. The loss on the Afghan side was terrible and they were forced to run in confusion behind the lines for shelter. But Ahmad Khan Bungash, who had kept at a safe distance from the range of Ibrahim's guns, rallied them and rushed forward to the help of 'Inayat Khan who led the vanguard.[1] They had hardly joined when 'Inayat Khan made a lightening attack on the enemy with the remaining Afghan soldiers and grappled with the Maratha followers of Ibrahim Khan so desperately that Ibrahim's wing was completely broken up and he had to abandon his guns which fell into the hands of the Afghans, who made use of the artillery, thus acquired, against the enemy with deadly effect.

In the meantime, Bhau and other Maratha generals, who had observed the critical situation of Ibrahim, hastened to his help with a body of eighty thousand horsemen. They fell upon the Afghans who were already exhausted by continuous fighting. This Maratha onslaught was so swift and effective that the Afghans could not withstand its momentum. They were completely shattered, notwithstanding their remarkably tenacious defence. 'Inayat Khan, however, with the other Afghan veterans remained firm in his position and carried on fearlessly a

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1 *Gul-i-Rahmat* (*Author*).

defensive and offensive fight. It was at this critical moment of the battle that Ahmad Khan Bangash did an admirable service in rallying together the Afghans who were fleeing the battle field and brought them under his command to afford timely assistance to 'Inayat Khan and his followers whose drooping spirit was suddenly aroused. The Afghans performed great feats of valour and courage, but they were placed in such a dangerous position, on account of the disproportionately superior number of the Maratha troops, that it seemed that all their efforts to extricate themselves from this predicament were doomed to failure. Ahmad Shah Abdali, all this time, was standing on a mound, watching with great vigilance, the varying fortune of the battle. His Afghan sardars stood by his side. When he found the Afghans in a terrible stalemate, he at once ordered one of the sardars, Haji Atai Khan, to rush to the help of 'Inayat Khan. Without losing a moment, the Haji at the head of his six thousand Afghan followers dashed to the battle-field and interposed himself between the Afghan force and the Maratha army. He discharged a volley of shots which frightened the Marathas who were on the point of gaining a victory. The Afghans took immediate advantage of the ensuing consternation among the enemy and fell upon them with deadly effect. The Haji lost his life in the general scramble. Haji Atai Khan's death deprived Ahmad Shah of an extremely courageous, prepossessing and persevering young officer of his army. But



Nawab Najibud Doulah Bahadur

the Afghan king lost no time to press the advantage thus gained by detailing another equally promising Afghan youth, named Shah Pasand Khan, to the scene of the desperate fight. He gave a good account of himself but met the same fate as Haji Atai Khan. While the Rohillas were showing their mettle in an unequal conflict, the forces under the command of Shuja'-ud-Doulah and Najib-ud-Doulah were parrying an equally furious onslaught by the Maratha forces under the command of Mahadaji Scindia and Mulhar Rao Hulkar. Najib-ud-Doulah's determined and hard blows soon compelled Hulkar to leave the field. After some time Scindia also found safety in flight, though not before he had had a serious encounter and exchange of blows with the Afghans. This was followed by a desperate and bloody general engagement between Najib's followers and the main body of the Marathas. The latter were reinforced by a contingent of twenty thousand Maratha reserves whom Bhau, stung to the quick by the reverses suffered at the hands of the Afghans by his officers and the flight of the two Maratha leaders, ordered to deliver a well concerted attack upon Najib. This was the most critical moment of the battle. Najib-ud-Doulah and his forces displayed the highest intrepidity at this time in fighting against the Maratha hordes. The entire battlefield was covered with heaps of corpses and the dust raised by the horses mounted to the sky and hid the rays of the sun. After a severe and grim fight and terrible bloodshed on both sides, the Marathas were completely

routed and the followers of Najib-ud-Doulah pursued them to a distance of 14 miles.[1]

The followers of Haji Atai Khan and Shah Pasand Khan also joined in the mopping-up operation, set Maratha camp on fire and plundered them thoroughly. Bhau and other leading Maratha sardars were at their wit's end at this unexpected turn in the wheel of fortune and had not yet made up their mind as to the future course of their action, when the Abdali king ordered his body-guards to surprise the Maratha sardars and make a short shrift of them. The guards fired their guns at them making a special target of Bhau, Vishwas Rao, Raghunath Rao, Shamsher Bahadur, Jhankoji and other Maratha leaders who were holding a sort of war council on the battlefield. Almost all of them including Sadashiv Rao Bhau fell victims to their well-aimed shots.[2] Now the entire Abdali force and the Rohilla Afghans surrounded the frightened Marathas from all sides and slaughtered them indiscriminately. The Marathas were forced to take to flight. Ahmad Shah Abdali commanded his troops to pursue the enemy up to Delhi. Hafiz Rahmat Khan arrived in the battlefield at this time in a palanquin. He was highly pleased with the outcome of the battle and delighted to see that his son 'Inayat Khan and the Rohilla chiefs, Faizullah

1 *Tarikh Najibabad* by Maulana Akbar Shah Khan (*Author*).

2 The author of *Tarikh Afghanistan* or *Naqsh-e-Sulaimani* says that Bhau was killed by 'Inayat Khan. He describes the scene of a hand-to-hand fight between them. 'Inayat Khan brought him down with a severe blow and cut the head of the Maratha commander, and presented it to Ahmad Shah Abdali.—(*Author*).

Khan and others, had come out victorious in the battle. 'Inayat Khan had received many wounds and his sword had got stuck up in his gory hands.[1] It is estimated that in the actual fighting, as well as in the course of the hot pursuit up to Delhi which continued for three days more than two lakh Marathas lost their lives. The number of the wounded was also high and only one-fourth[2] of the total Maratha army could run away with their lives. Among the few sardars who could escape in safety were Mulhar Rao Hulkar and Mahadaji Scindia—the former owed his escape to Najib-ud-Doulah's connivance in return for his former obligation; while the latter who had been pursued by an Afghan trooper for 75 miles and invalided for life by his shot fell from the horse and was left, unconscious, by his pursuer who contented himself with his belongings and ornaments. Jhankoji's end could not be ascertained, though a search was made for him after the battle. It transpired that he was running away on the back of a swift horse when he was detected by an Afghan trooper of 'Inayat Khan who was attracted towards him by his gold ornaments and his headgear which was studded with precious jewels. The Afghan followed him and overtook him though Jhankoji ran over a distance of 40 miles to save himself from the Afghan pursuer who had set his eyes upon the precious wear on his body. Jhankoji's horse was killed

1 'Inayat Khan a celebrated swordsman,' was known for having very long hands which reached up to his knees.—(*Author*).

2 *History of the Marothas* by Grant Duff.—(*Author*).

first. Jhankoji fell on the ground; the Afghan severed his head and taking possession of the ornaments and jewellery as well as of the head he returned towards his camp. The head gear he concealed under a heap of cow dung near Karnal and presented the head before 'Inayat Khan. The latter inquired where the head dress was. The Afghan told him plainly that he had concealed it under a heap of cow dung, lest he might be deprived of it by 'Inayat Khan, considering that it was most valuable. But 'Inayat Khan persuaded him to bring the crown to him on promise of a reward of gold Mohurs. The Afghan brought it and handed it over to Inayat Khan in return for five hundred gold Mohurs. 'Inayat Khan presented Jhankoji's head before the Abdali king who was highly pleased with him, patted him on the back and said, "This victory is assigned to your name, praise be to you and blessings on your father".

The spoils of war, collected after the plunder of the Maratha camp, staggered all calculations. The tents and bazars were full to capacity with all kinds of goods. The winning Afghans captured two million bullocks, several thousand camels, five hundred elephants and fifty thousand horses, besides a large booty consisting of jewels, cash and pieces of artillery. But no provisions were found. It is said that the plight of the fugitive Marathas was beyond all description. Nearly twenty thousand of them were reduced to beggary and with great difficulty they could enter the territory of Surajmal Jat who provid-

ed them with one rug and two rupees each and sent them back to the Deccan. The Rajput princes rendered similar help to many others, while twelve thousand Marathas were provided by Shuja'-ud-Doulah with bare means to proceed to the south. The Marathas had never suffered such a serious reverse. Their defeat spread frustration and distress in every Maratha house. Balaji Peshwa died of the shock of this unexpected calamity and with his death the sun of Marathas prestige set for good. Ahmad Shah Abdali, on the other hand, scored a victory which can rank with the greatest triumphs in history.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was very anxious to ascertain the fate of Ibrahim Khan Gardi who had subjected the Rohillas to the severest strait and ruination. It was reported to him that he was in the captivity of the Rohillas. With great reluctance Hafiz-ul-Mulk admitted that he was in the know of his whereabouts and sent him to the king.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk, however, set his son at liberty and arranged for his escape secretly. The king, who was greatly annoyed with Ibrahim Khan for the latter's refusal to desert the Marathas, had him executed in retribution of causing death to many Afghans.[1] Ghazi-ud-din Khan 'Imad-ul-Mulk, who was the real fomenter of this bloody battle, had foreseen the result and had disappeared from the battlefield. He stayed with Surajmal Jat at Bharatpur

[1] '*Gul-i-Rahmat*—(Author).

for some time and then went to the Deccan where he spent twenty years in disguise and obscurity. It is related in some narratives that in 1790 he was arrested by a British police officer when his identity was disclosed. He was sent by the order of the Governor-General to Mecca. In his last days he came back to India and made friend with Temur Shah, the successor of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He died in Multan before he could create any fresh trouble.

Ahmad Shah stayed at the scene of his memorable victory for about a week, making preparations to start on his journey. He then left for Delhi and entered the Imperial capital in glorious triumph, attended by all the nobles of India. Before leaving for Qandahar he made certain important administrative and political changes for the better governance of the country. He appointed Mirza Jawan Bakht, the son of Shah 'Alam who was in Bengal at that time, as the deputy of the king, and entrusted the office of the Wazir to Shuja'-ud-Doulah. He granted the high office of the chief of the nobles "Amir-ul-Umera") to Najib-ud-Doulah and commanded him to remain in Delhi with the prince. Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash was given the office of Bakhshi and Hafiz-ul-Mulk was invested with the power of the plenipotentiary of the Abdali king in Delhi. To reward the meritorious services and peerless courage shown by 'Inayat Khan and Dundey Khan in the battle of Panipat, the district of Etawah and

Shikohabad were given to 'Inayat Khan and Dundey Khan respectively as free assignments. 'Inayat Khan was also honoured by the conferment of the rank of *Haft Hazari* (officer of seven thousand horses) with *Khil'at* and horse along with the title of Nawab, and the right of using standard and drum. 'Inayat Khan was at this time in the 17th year of his life. Abdali returned to Qandahar on 16th Shaban, 1174 A.H. The Afghan king harvested no personal gain at the field of Panipat. If he had possessed the vision and political foresight of Babar and supplanted the defunct Mughul sovereignty in Delhi, he would have given a long lease of life to Muslim rule in India. But fate had willed otherwise and the impending reckoning of an erring and doomed nation could not be averted.

13. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's return to Bareilly after the battle of Panipat.

As soon as Ahmad Shah Abdali had left for Qandahar, Shuja'-ud-Doulah[1] and Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash returned to their respective territories, while Najib-ud-Doulah remained in Delhi in the service of prince Jawan Bakht. Hafiz-ul-Mulk also, with the Rohilla chiefs, returned to Bareilly, in state. When he got

1. The books *Gul-i-Rahmat*, *Gulistan-e-Rahmat* and others written on Hafiz Rahmat Khan by his partisans mention an anecdote which throws light on Abdali's estimate of Shuja'-ud-Doulah. It is related that he once spoke thus to Hafiz-ul-Mulk in private, "I intend to take Shuja'-ud-Doulah to Afghanistan with me and there to enlist him among my nobles so that in India none except the Afghans remain in a position of authority. I do not know when this fellow may entangle you in a mesh of misery". Hafiz-ul-Mulk thereupon said, "My friendly relations with Safdar Jang are well known and Shuja'-ud-Doulah has not so far swerved from the path of sincerity. If your majesty were to take him to Afghanistan, people will point a finger of scorn at me for having turned the only non-Afghan in India out of the country". The king unwillingly agreed with Hafiz-ul-Mulk. Since this event has not been corroborated by any other contemporary or later chronicler, it cannot be accepted as true.

near the city all the important Rohilla leaders, officers, scholars and the common people of the town came out to offer him congratulations and escorted him in a grand procession to the city.

14. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's arrival in Pilibhit. After a brief stay in Bareilly, Hafiz-ul-Mulk went to Pilibhit in the later part of 1761. First of all he visited his mother's tomb to offer prayer for her soul. He gave charities to the needy and arranged for the distribution of daily meal to the poor and the learned. He made it a principle of his life to repair to his mother's tomb, whenever he returned from any expedition or journey. During his stay at Pilibhit his second son, Himmat Khan, died. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not neglect the affairs of state and gave full attention to the development and welfare of his territory and his people. After a few months he turned to the recapture of Etawah and Shikohabad.

CHAPTER XVIII

Conquest of Etawah and Shikohabad.

The parganas of Etawah and Shikohabad had been gifted to 'Inayat Khan and Dundey Khan respectively by Ahmad Shah Abdali before his departure for Qandahar. But the conferment meant that the assignees had permission to wrest them from those, in lawfully occupation and to bring them in their own possession as they were not, actually in the direct control of the giver. In 1762, therefore, Hafiz-ul-Mulk commissioned Mulla Mohsin Khan, a commandant in his service, to proceed to the conquest of Etawah. When Mulla Mohsin arrived in the neighbourhood of Etawah, he met with resistance from Bala Pandit and Krishna who had enjoyed the undisputed possession of the parganas since the death of Govind Pant. A severe battle took place in which both sides suffered great losses, but in the end the enemies were forced to flee towards Amargarh.

After the flight of Bala Pandit, Mohsin Khan laid siege to the fortress of Etawah which was easily occupied. The Rohilla invaders, then, got busy with punishing the refractory Zamindars of the neighbouring localities. They destroyed a few forts and set up their own administrative units known as *thanas*. But a few Zamindars who commanded big forces and had dense forests to protect them

refused to submit to Afghan supremacy. Mulla Mohsin had to send for reinforcements from Hafiz-ul-Mulk who deputed Sheikh Kabir with five thousand troops to assist him. The Afghan leaders working in close co-operation captured Etawah and Shikoh-abad and extended the supremacy of the Afghan arms far and wide.

Shuja'-ud-Doulah plans invasion on Farrukhabad.

1. The Bangash Nawab harbours Umraogir Goshain. 2. Shuja'-ud-Doulah marches upon Farrukhabad : Shah 'Alam and Najib-ud-Doulah join him. 3. Hafiz-ul-Mulk starts for Nawab's help—remonstrates with his adversaries. 4. Capture of Kamet.

In July, 1763, Umraogir Goshain,[a] with his Naga followers numbering twelve thousand, fled Oudh and took asylum at Farrukhabad.[1] Shuja'-ud-Doulah on receiving the news sent an indignant letter to Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash saying, "Expel the thief from your town; non-compliance with this order will jeopardise our mutual friendly relations and it will give rise to a calamity".[2]

1. The Bangash Nawab harbours Umraogir Goshain.

Ahmad Khan, considering it his duty as a true Pathan to shield his guest, sent a reply to Shuja'-ud-Doulah in the same strain: "I fear God alone. Do whatever is in your mind. I have not invited Umraogir; he has come out of his own will, to find shelter in my territory; I cannot betray one who seeks protection from me".[3] He also spoke to Umraogir, "If one hundred Shuja'-ud-Doulahs were born, they cannot take you out of my territory, but if you decide, yourself, to go back, nobody has put fetters on your feet".

2. Shuja'-ud-Doulah marches upon Farrukhabad: Shah 'Alam and Najib-ud-Doulah join him.

Shuja'-ud-Doulah took the curt reply of Ahmad Khan to his heart and within a month he was on

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[1] *History of Farrukhabad* by Irwin. A favourite mistress of Nawab Wazir eloped with him.

[2] *History of Oudh* by Maulvi Najmul Ghani Khan.

[3] There is a proverb common among Afghans, 'If a dirty and abominable swine enter your house, give him protection'—*Hayat-i-Afghani* (Author).

the march to Farrukhabad with a great force. With him was the Emperor Shah 'Alam who, after suffering defeat at the hands of the English and the Nawab of Bengal, had come to live in Oudh. Shuja'-ud-Doulah also wrote to Najib-ud-Doulah, with whom he had formed friendly relations since the battle of Panipat by exchanging turbans, to join this battle. Najib-ud-Doulah started from Delhi and encamped twenty miles north of Farrukhabad at Khudaganj.[1]

When Nawab Ahmad Khan received this information, he wrote to Hafiz-ul-Mulk to this effect, "Shuja'-ud-Doulah with the Emperor Shah 'Alam is marching upon Farrukhabad with the intention of pillaging it. Najib-ud-Doulah is also co-operating with him. If you come to my side, however, I hope the outcome will be favourable to us."[2]

3. Hafiz-ul-Mulk starts for Nawab's help—remonstrates with his adversaries.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk was living at Mehrabad where he got intelligence of the combined attack of the Nawab Wazir and Najib-ud-Doulah upon Farrukhabad. Simultaneously the letter of Nawab Ahmad Khan, mentioned above, was also delivered to him. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, who greatly valued his friendship with Ahmad Khan, left Mehrabad without delay and also sent an order to Sheikh Kabir to withdraw his army from Etawah and start towards the Kali Nadi and wait at Khudaganj.[3] Hafiz-ul-Mulk

1 *History of Farrukhabad* by Irwin.

2 *Gul-i-Rahmat.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 132.

in his march towards Farrukhabad stopped at Jalalabad and then reached Fatehgarh. This place was only six miles from Farrukhabad. Arriving here he, in consultation with Ahmad Khan, sent letters to Najib-ud-Doulah and Shuja'-ud-Doulah saying, it does not behave you to design the ruination of Ahmad Khan; it is better to give up this idea, in case otherwise, please be ready to reckon with me also. When Najib-ud-Doulah and Shuja'-ud-Doulah heard of the arrival of Hafiz-ul-Mulk at Farrukhabad, the former encamped at Khudaganj and the latter stopped at the Serai Khawaja Behlol. They both wrote to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, "Agree to take one third of the territory of Ahmad Khan and give up the idea of joining him and retrace your steps to your state". Hafiz-ul-Mulk replied in plain words, "It is impossible for me to do it". Finding Hafiz-ul-Mulk adamant in his resolve to join Ahmad Khan, Najib-ud-Doulah sought an interview with him starting the war. He, first of all, wrote a letter to Sheikh Kabir, who was encamped at a distance of a mile, to check his advance desiring to meet him. Sheikh Kabir replied, "We will meet with swords in hands. You have come to assist Shuja'-ud-Doulah and cherish a desire to meet us".[1] After four or five days sojourn when Najib'-ud-Doulah resumed his march to Farrukhabad, he received the following message from Sheikh Kabir, "Do not step forward, otherwise, I would give you a befitting reception". Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah replied,

[1] *History of Farrukhabad* by Irwin.

"I am not coming to fight, but only to see Hafiz-ul-Mulk". Sheikh Kabir wrote back, "Then you have permission to go, but not with your army".[1] Najib-ud-Doulah proceeded, leaving his army behind, and arriving at Fatehgarh met Hafiz-ul-Mulk. In the course of the meeting his father-in-law, Dundey Khan, gave him a bit of his mind for allying himself with Shuja'-ud-Doulah against the Afghans. He replied, "When the Marathas had surrounded me at Sukkurtal, Shuja'-ud-Doulah alone came to my rescue at a very critical time". The discussions continued the whole night and in the morning Najib-ud-Doulah after some procrastination consented to make peace. He advised Hafiz-ul-Mulk to submit a petition for peace to Shah 'Alam who was staying with Shuja'-ud-Doulah. Hafiz-ul-Mulk approved of this suggestion. Najib-ud-Doulah left the Rohilla camp followed by Hafiz-ul-Mulk who set out with all his troops for Serai Khawaja Behlol. He was presented before the Emperor; peace was arranged and Shuja'-ud-Doulah, out of regard for Hafiz-ul-Mulk, gave up the idea of invading Farrukhabad. A few days later, Shuja'-ud-Doulah and Shah 'Alam returned to Oudh and Najib-ud-Doulah got back to Delhi. The Emperor, before leaving the camp, summoned Hafiz-ul-Mulk and discussed, in private conversation, many important administrative and financial matters with him and conferred upon him a *Khil'at*, sword, etc. Hafiz-ul-Mulk asked 'Inayat Khan to accompany Shuja'-ud-Doulah.

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[1] *History of Farrukhabad* by Irwin.

with instruction to help the Nawab Wazir, in the course of their march through the Bangash territory, setting up administrative units at places which the Wazir had lost.[1]

4. Capture of Kamet. Having settled all these affairs, Hafiz-ul-Mulk proceeded to Etawah where the Zamindars on the other side of the Jumna had fomented serious trouble. He sent an army against them and ordered 'Inayat Khan, who had reached Lucknow, to return and join the army at Kamet. The Afghan army attacked the fortified stronghold of Kamet. 'Inayat Khan directed a furious assault during which the Afghan's scaled the walls of the fort and captured it. 'Inayat Khan, who was a man of rash temper, ordered that the entire garrison be put to death, and his order was carried out with great ferocity. Not a single soul was spared and the strong fort was raised to the ground. In this campaign a large number of defenders and one hundred thirty-four Afghans were killed. Next day, 'Inayat Khan left for Etawah to join his father.

1 *Gul-i-Rahmat.*

CHAPTER XX

Death of Nawab Sa'dullah Khan.

1. Outbreak of fire in Bareilly. 2. Impudence of 'Inayat Khan: Foundation of Rampur State.

While Hafiz-ul-Mulk was still in Etawah, Nawab Sa'dullah Khan died of phthisis at Aonla in 1763 at the age of 27. He was buried by the side of his father, Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan, in the same mausoleum. The deceased Nawab was a brave, generous and handsome young man, fond of manly exercises, particularly riding. He would cover forty to fifty *kos* on horse-back in a few hours without feeling any worse for it. He had a passion for raising buildings. The incomplete building of the fort of Uttar Chhaindi stands a monument to his architectural skill. He had a keen taste for music. There were several well-known musicians, including the famous Mehdi Sen, Karim Sen and Feroz Khan, who enjoyed his patronage. He was himself a charming singer. Sa'dullah Khan held Hafiz-ul-Mulk in high esteem, and the latter treated him with deep and sincere affection. He was shocked at the news of his untimely death and left for Aonla to pay condolence.

1. Outbreak of fire in Bareilly.

In the same year—the year of Nawab Sa'dullah Khan's death—Bareilly was afflicted by a divine scourge in the shape of a severe outbreak of fire

which consumed half the city and took a toll of fourteen hundred lives. The number of those who lost their houses and properties was beyond calculation. Two years after this conflagration, the city was torn by a blackening wind-storm and earthquake, in which some of the magnificent buildings of the city were completely destroyed. The earthquake also proved a great catastrophe, causing big fissures on earth, drying up tanks and lakes by hurling their water on dry land. Its shocks were felt up to Oudh. It is said that an earthquake of such intensity had not occurred in India during the past two or three centuries. Hafiz-ul-Mulk spent lakhs of rupees in providing relief to the sufferers and many a building, gutted by fire was renovated by his orders.

2. Impudence of 'Inayat Khan : foundation of Rampur State.

Faizullah Khan lived in Bareilly by the permission of Hafiz-ul-Mulk who had also permitted him to keep *Naubat*' at his door. 'Inayat Khan who was a rash and impudent, though daring, young man also resided in the same town. After the battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali had conferred upon him the title of Nawab, besides a standard and a drum. He felt annoyed at the presence of a rival Nawab in the same city, enjoying the honour of beating kettle-drum at his house. Acting on the maxim that 'ten beggars can sleep under a single rug, but two kings cannot co-exist in a single state, 'Inayat one day ordered his followers to stop the beating of drums at the residence of Faizullah Khan. His orders were carried out.

reins of government in his own hands on the strength of popular support. The Rohillas in those days were Sunni Muslims, sincerely and steadfastly attached to their faith. They observed the same rules in the choice of their ruler, which were followed in the selection of the *Khalifas* in the days of early Islam. The principle of hereditary successian was first introduced by Hazrat Amir Mu'awiah in imitation of the emperors of Rome and the kings of Persia. With the lapse of time it found favour with the Rohillas also who under its influence changed the old practice and confined leadership to a particular family on the incidence of birth. This wrongful principle, in fact, has led historians of the opposite camp to brand Hafiz-ul-Mulk as a usurper. But comparing the conduct of Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan placed in similar circumstances with that of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, we find that if this principle were to be accepted the former was also exposed to the charge of usurpation. When the Nawab acquired the sovereignty of Rohilkhand, there existed a natural born son of Daud Khan, named Ahmad Khan, who was passed over by the people in deciding the question of succession, on the ground that he was minor and inexperienced.[1] But the fact is that neither of them can be accused of being a usurper, both of them having risen to power by dint of their personal merit and capabilities. The history of Rohilkhand testifies to the fact that these two Rohilla leaders

1 *Akhbar-us-Sanadid*, pp. 89, 96—1918 edition. (*Author*).

piled up conquests of towns and cities with their own might and invested their respective regimes with glory and that their overlordship was based neither on usurpation nor on the disregard of other claimants' rights.

3. Progress and expansion of the Rohilla power.

The period of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's rule, after the death of Sa'dullah Khan, is a landmark in the progress and expansion of the Rohilla power. This period of ascendency continued up to 1768. The defeat of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat had given respite to the country and for seven years Rohilkhand was immune from external aggression. The Marathas were wasting in mutual strife in the south, whatever of energy and vitality they still retained. The powers on the borders of Rohilkhand such as Shuja'-ud-Doulah, Ahmad Khan Bangash and Najib-ud-Doulah, had learned to respect the political acumen and military achievements of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and considered it a safer policy to maintain friendly relations with him. The kingdom of the Rohillas at this time extended over a vast region including Bareilly, Pilibhit, Muradabad, Shahjahanpur, Budaun, Etawah, Shikohabad, Mainpuri and many other districts reaching up to the skirts of the mountain, touching Khairabad. It yielded an income of thirteen million rupees a year.

CHAPTER XXII

Kasim Ali Khan, Nawab of Murshidabad, in trouble.

1. Inayat Khan joins the battle of Patna.
2. Clash between the Nages and the Afghans.
3. Raja of Banaras joins Shuja'-ud-Doulah.
4. The Battle of Patna.
5. The Battle of Buxar.

At this time when Hafiz-ul-Mulk's writ ran over a vast portion of territory from Shikohabad to Khairabad, the province of Bengal was in the throes of a revolution, whose fatal repercussions were to engulf the whole of India. The English had begun to interfere in Indian politics and casting off the garb of traders which had so far cloaked their real designs on India, they had now jumped into the political arena. Since the death of Nawab Ali Wardi Khan [a] in 1756 they, by successful diplomatic manoeuvering with the help of Indian hirelings and by deposing three Indian rulers, had not only grabbed the lucrative trade of Bengal and extorted fabulous wealth in the shape of presents and gifts; but had also acquired personal *iagirs* yielding huge income. [b] One of the deposed Nawabs was Mir Kasim. [c] But instead of taking things lying down, he made one last desperate but determined attempt to liberate his country from the clutches of the foreign adventurers. But all his efforts proved of no avail against the sinister machinations of Indian malefactors who conspired to sabotage his plans and forced him out of Bengal.[1] Mir Kasim, persecuted and frustrated, crossed the river Karamnasa on his

(1) Rise of Christian power in India by Maj B. D. Basu.

western boundary and entered Oudh on Dec. 4, 1763 and related before Shuja'-ud-Doulah the piteous tale of the ruination and misery wrought by the English on the people of Bengal in general and on himself in particular. At first the Nawab Vizier hesitated to extend a hand of friendship and help, but on being pressed hard by Mir Kasim, he girt up his loins and taking with him Shah Alam,[d] the Emperor of Delhi, who was living in Oudh, he set out to invade Bengal with the intention of punishing the English and reinstating Mir Kasim. To persuade Hafiz Rahmat to collaborate with him, he sent the following message to him:—

"The English have expelled Mir Kasim, the subedar, from Bengal and have occupied by force the whole of the province. Mir Kasim has come to me relying on my help. As we you and I are in unity bound it is hoped you will send considerable force for our assistance." [1]

1. Inayat Khan joins the battle of Patna.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk received this message while he was in Pilibhit and despatched 'Inayat Khan with six thousand experienced horse and foot, commanded by battle-scarred veterans, for the help of Mir Kasim. Near Allahabad 'Inayat Khan was welcomed by Raja Beni Bahadur, the deputy of Shuja'-ud-Doulah, while the latter himself went three miles out of his capital to receive him. He was entertained lavishly in his own camp. The three allies then marched to Banaras at the head of a large force.

1. Gul-e-Rahmat

2. Clash between the Nagas and the Afghans. In the course of their march one of the Afghan followers of 'Inayat Khan slaughtered a cow. When he was trying to take the beef into his camp, the Naga soldiers of Shuja'-ud-Doulah fell upon him and wounded his horse. Realizing the danger to his life other Afghan soldiers rescued him from the Nagas. When 'Inayat Khan heard this incident, he ordered the Afghans to kill the Nagas wherever they found them. The next morning the Afghans observed four hundred Nagas plundering a village. They surrounded them and killed a large number of them. The Nagas tried their best to face the Afghans, but in the end they were forced to seek safety in flight. In this skirmish two hundred and fifty Nagas were killed while the Afghans lost twenty soldiers. When Raja Beni Bahadur got report of this clash, he at once proceeded to the camp of 'Inayat Khan and with difficulty pacified him. Shuja'-ud-Doulah himself, with Nagas and their sardars, met 'Inayat Khan, assuaged his feelings and ordered that, thenceforward, the Naga force, would encamp at a safe distance from the Afghans.[2]

3. Raja of Banars joins Shujaud-Doulah. When the allied troops entered Banaras, the Raja, Balwant Singh, sent his ambassador, Nurul Hasan, to 'Inayat Khan with the following message:-

"I have always paid tribute to Safdar Jang and Shuja'-ud-Doulah but I have never had an audience

1. Gul-i-Rāhmat (author)
2. Tarikh-i-Qudh (author)

with either of them. As you are the representative of Ahmad Shah Abdali's plenipotentiary in India, I request you to be good enough to arrange my audience with the Nawab Vizir." 'Inayat Khan spoke to Shu'ja-ud-Doulah of this message and arranged a meeting between them. The Raja joined Shuja'-ud-Doulah with two thousand men in his expedition against the British.

4. The battle of Patna. Shuja'-ud-Doulah had an army of eighty thousand men. When he crossed the river Karamnasa, Major Charnock, having a far smaller force under him, entrenched himself in Patna city and prepared for a battle. Shu'ja-ud-Doulah set up his camp at a distance of eight miles from Patna. The British Major who bore deep seated malignity to Mir Kasim had resource to mean intrigues and tried to create split among the allies ; so that the small British force might score success over the divided army of the Indian allies. The author of "Seirul Mutakhrin", Syed Ghulam Husain, who was in Shuja-ud-Doulah's camp, was acting as an agent of the British in advancing their unholy mission. He himself says in his work, "I made up my mind to throw in my lot with the English, whom I had now begun to like. I have had contact with them, specially with Dr. Fullerton, with whom I have been in correspondence and who has informed me that the Emperor Shah Alam was at heart a friend of the British. He also

1. Seirul-Mutakhkhaien, Vol II (Author)
2. Rise of the Cheistan power (Author)

advised me to manage to get the Emperor into British camp along with me. I intimated this news to my father and insisted upon him to take an early step in this matter which was calculated to advance the stability of our family and win the goodwill of the British".[1]

The above statement throws light on British intrigues with the Emperor. It can be inferred from it that similar secret missions were working to sow seeds of distrust among other Muslim leaders. In such circumstances the outcome of the battle was obvious.[2]

When Shuja-ud-Doulah, Mir Kasim and 'Inayat Khan arrived with their troops near Patna, the British army opened artillery fire. Shuja'-ud-Doulah also ordered his men to discharge guns and rockets. But his army which was stationed in the open field could not hold ground in the face of continuous bombordment of the enemy. Many of his troopers climbed the trees for shelter while others sought safety in old buildings. 'Inayat Khan with his followers got close to the fortified positions of the English though he came dangerously within the range of the artillery fire. He got down from his horse to force the English into a hand-to-hand fighting, expecting a simultaneous attack by the Mughul troops upon the enemy. Beni Bahadur made a furious assault upon the British positions in the afternoon and got near the ditch. But his army suffered srious casualties in killed and wounded and took to flight. The Nagas then made

1. Seir-ul-Mutakhien

2. Rise of the Christan power in India, Vol ii-P. 392.

a dash and reached up to the ditch, but they too had to fall back in the face of deadly fire. The Mughul army, though large in number, showed no initiative or daring, though 'Inayat Khan continued to press their leaders to make a well-concerted attack and fall upon the British in a combined attempt to engage them to a straight fight. Shuja'-ud-Doulah also tried his best for this, but the Mughul generals did not budge an inch from their position. They soon left the battlefield without discharging a single shot. Shuja'-ud-Doulah under these circumstances asked 'Inayat Khan to return to their camps at Phulvari. Being helpless, they, both, with their troops, left their positions and taking a few pieces of heavy artillery which the Mughuls had abandoned in the field, they returned to Phulvari.

Next day Shuja'-ud-Doulah tried to renew the battle but finding no chance of success he ordered his troops return. They encamped at Buxar. The defeat in the battle of Patna was largely due to the treachery of Kalyan Chand, son of Raja Shitab Rai. This man, though in the service of Shujaud Doulah, sent valuable information concerning the number, equipment and movements of the forces of his master to the officers of the East India Company.[1]

Another renegade in the camp of Shuja'-ud-Doulah named Zainul-Abidin wrote the following letter to Major Munro in Calcutta, "I have got your affectionate

1. Rise of the Christian power in India, fooncte page, 392 (Author)

letter through Asad Khan Bahadur and feel honoured thereby. In this letter you have commissioned me to join you as early as possible with as many experienced and efficient Mughul and Turani horsemen as possible". Having become sick at heart of such conspiracies and clandestine moves, 'Inayat Khan left Buxar and marched towards Rohilkhand. Mir Kasim gave him many valuable pieces of cloth, jewels and fancy Bengal articles with five elephants to be presented to Hafiz-ul-Mulk[1].

On the 22nd October, 1764, Shuja'-ud-Doulah and his allies fought against the British a battle at Buxar in which, under conditions similar to those which obtained at Patna, he was again defeated. As a result of this defeat Shah 'Alam placed himself voluntarily into the hands of the English. Shuja'-ud-Doulah, too, was willing to come to terms with them by betraying Mir Kasim into the British hands. But getting an inkling of the plot Mir Kasim quitted the battlefield on a fast running elephant. He stopped at Allahabad to join his family and children whom Shuja'-ud-Doulah's men had plundered and taken into custody[2]. Taking them with him he arrived in Bareilly, where Hafiz-ul-mulk took him into his protection and accommodated him in the house of the late Nawab Sa'dullah Khan at Uttar Chhaindi. Here he lived in perfect peace for five years.

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.—(*Author*)
2. Seirul Mutakherin.—(*Anthor*)

CHAPTER XXIII

Hafizulmulk helps Nawab Najibud Doulah Against Jats.

1. Surajmal Jat defeated and killed-Jats and Marathas lay siegs to Delhi. 2. Hafizulmulk starts for Delhi. 3. Jats and Marathas withdraw.

1. Surajmal Jat defeated and killed-Jats and Marathas lay siege to Delhi.

In the stormy year of 1764, the Jat ruler, Surajmal, who had twice escaped from falling into the hands of the Abdali king, augumented his military resources and made up his mind to exterminate the Taimurides and Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah. The Nawab set off from Delhi to encounter the Jats. In the ensuing battle the Jats were defeated and Surajmal was killed.

Six months later, his son, Jawanrmal set out for Delhi with a big force and heavy artillery to avenge the blood of his father. Mulhar Rao Hulkar also joined him with an army of twenty-five thousand men. They laid siege to Delhi. The Nawab, being outnumbered by his enemies, erected barricades in the city and fought a defensive war outside Delhi. The Marathas ransacked all villages around the imperial city and stopped all sources of getting food supplies. Najib-ud-Doulah, in dire straits, sent a petition to Ahmad Shah Abdali in which he set forth the critical situation in which he had been placed. He also wrote a letter to Hafiz-ul-Mulk appealing for help. Hafiz-ul-Mulk decided to stand by Najib-ud-Doulah as he had always done in the case of Ahmad Khan Bungash.

2. Hafizulmulk Starts for Delhi. Hence, soon after getting news of Najib-ud-Doulah's sad plight, he started towards Delhi at the head of an army under the command of Nawab Dundey Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan and Fateh Khan Khansaman. 'Inayat Khan was left as his deputy at Bareilly. At Daranagar, Hafiz-ul-Mulk constructed a bridge over the Ganges and ordered his followers, numbering five to six thousand, to cross the river and drive away the Marathas who had overrun the territories of Najib-ud-Doulah and stopped supply of provisions to him. The Afghans defeated the Marathas in two or three skirmishes and forced them to clear off the territory.

3. Jats and Marathan withdraw. Jawaharmal and Mulhar Rao had not yet recovered from the stunning effects of the sudden appearance of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, when they heard that Ahmad Shah Abdali had left Kabul and was on his way to India. As, since the battle of Panipat, the Afghans had got on the nerves of the Marathas, Mulhar Rao, out of consternation, forced Jawaharmal to make peace and return to his capital Bharatpur. Najib-ud-Doulah informed the Hafiz of the conclusion of peace and the latter consequently, instead of proceeding to Delhi went to Hasanpur, where he stayed for some time.

CHAPTER XXIV

Shuja-ud-Doulah arrives in Bareilly.

1. Hafizulmulk's advice to conclude peace with the English. 2. Shuja-ud-Doulah invites the Marathas—their defeat by the English. 4. Shuja-ud-Doulah yields to Hafizulmulk's advice. 4. Treaty of Allahabad. 5. Hafizulmulk betrays lack of political insight. 6. Mulhar Rao's invasion on Etawah—Hafizulmulk forces him to withdraw.

1. Hafizulmulk's advice to conclude peace with the English.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk was still living at Hasanpur when Nawab Shuja-ud-Doulah, having sustained military reverses at the hands of the British, arrived in Bareilly with his family. 'Inayat Khan welcomed him and entertained him in a manner befitting his position. Leaving Shuja'-ud-Doulah at Bareilly, 'Inayat Khan proceeded to Hasanpur to apprise his father of the mission of Shuja'-ud-Doulah. Leaving his family at Bareilly, the Nawab Vizir also followed 'Inayat Khan to Hasanpur. Hafiz-ul-Mulk went in state up to a distance of two *kos* to receive his honoured guest. A couple of days later, he took Shuja-ud-Doulah to Farrukhabad to consult Nawab Ahmad Khan Bungash. It was agreed that their agents should be sent to the English to settle terms of peace with them[1]. In case of failure, measures suitable to meet the ensuing situation were to be adopted.

2. Shuja-ud-Doulah invites the Marathas—their defeat by the English

Shuja'-ud-Doulah did not approve of this plan. Instead, he invited Mulhar Rao Hulkar

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.

and several other Maratha leaders for his help. The combined armies attacked the British at Kora Jahanabad on 3rd May, 1765. The Marathas could not withstand bombardment by the British artillery. Mulhar Rao ran off the field[1], leaving Shuja'-ud-Doulah at the mercy of the British. The latter at once returned to Farrukhabad and again solicited the help of Hafiz-ul-Mulk in working out his plan.

3. Shujaud - Doulah yields to Hafizulmulk's advice.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk advised him to reopen negotiations for peace with the British. Shuja'-ud-Doulah agreed and went to the British camp. Hafiz-ul-Mulk sent with him Munshi Teckchand, accompanied by five hundred horses, as his representative to the British[2]. They approached Major Charnock, Commander of the British forces, who received them well. Shuja'-ud-Doulah getting out of his palanquin, embraced Major Charnock and entered his camp. On the arrival of Clive, the Governor of Bengal, in the British camp on 2nd August, 1765, the negotiations started and the Treaty of Allahabad was signed.

4. Treaty of Allahabad

According to the terms of the Treaty Shuja'-ud-Doulah had to pay Rs. 50,00,000 as war indemnity and in return the whole of Oudh, with the exception of Kora Jahanabad and Allahabad, was restored to him. It was also agreed that Shuja'-ud-Doulah and the British would help each other in the event of an attack from any quarter and

1. Akhbarus-Sauadid, Vol. I.
2. Gul-e-Rahmat and Akhbarus-Sauadid.—(*Author*)

the expenses of the armed forces will be met by the party who asked for help. Shuja'-ud-Doulah also consented to have a British Resident stationed within his territory to advise him on political matters.[1] The outcome of this Treaty was that Shuja'-ud-Doulah, thenceforth, lost touch, for good, with Hafiz-ul-Mulk and other Indian princes. His own sovereignty and freedom, virtually, came to an end and he had to depend on his British mentors in all matters, big or small.

5. Hafizulmulk's lack of political insight. It betrayed a serious lack of political insight on the part of Hafiz-ul-Mulk to persuade Shuja'-ud-Doulah to make an alliance with the British. This was the beginning of the end of the Rohilla regime. Besides, the Nawab Wizir got so inextricably entangled in insolvency due to exorbitant demands of the Briish that in order to meet them he was compelled to perpetrate inhuman actrocities upon Rohilkhand; while his successor had to suffer the indignity of seeing his own mother and grandmother subjected to barbarous and bestial oppression by the British for the sake of extorting wealth from them.[a] After making peace with the British, Shuja'-ud-Doulah wrote to Hafiz-ul-Mulk explaining the terms of his treaty with the British and requesting him to send his family back to Lucknow. Hafiz-ul-Mulk made all possible arrangements for the safety and comfort of the Nawab Wazir's family on their departure to Lucknow.

1. Mills History of India, Vol. III.

6. Mulhar Rao's invasion on Etawah — Hafizulmulk forces him to withdraw

During his stay at Farrukhabad, Hafiz-ul-mulk learned that Mulhar Rao Hulkar had invaded Etawah and that Mulla Mohsin Khan had been besieged at Phaphund. He also heard that Sheikh Kabir had already left for Phaphund for the relief of the besieged. Hafiz-ul-Mulk himself hastened to Phaphund with his followers. On arriving there, he learned that Mulhar Rao, on getting the news of his arrival, had raised the siege and crossing the Jumna had returned to the Deccan. Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not like to go in pursuit of the Maratha leader and left for Etawah. Here he got busy attending to important affairs of the state and suppressing the rowdy and lawless elements. Then he returned to his head-, quarters.

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CHAPTER XXV

Hafiz-ul-mulk invited by emperor by Shah, 'Alam

1. Hafizulmulk meets Shah Alam. His sons honoured by the Emperor.

After a brief stay in Rohilkhand, Hafiz-ul-Mulk went to Fatehgarh which was included in his therritory. Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad, in close proximity of Fatehgarh, was greatly pleased with the arrival of his friend and entertained him in the latter's camp in a royal manner. Next day he personally met Hafiz-ul-Mulk in his camp and spent the whole day there. When leaving at night, the Nawab requested him to pay a visit to Farrukhabad. Hafiz-ul-Mulk accordingly went to Farrukhabad the following day. He was accorded a grand reception and entertained lavishly. He left the place the same evening, was escorted by Nawab Ahmad Khan outside the town in the midst of rounds of festivities held in an atmosphere full of sincere and spontaneous expression of mutual good will and friendship.

1. Hafizulmuik invited by Shah Alam

While still at Fatehgarh Hafiz-ul-Mulk received a *farman* from the Emperor Shah 'Alam who was encamped with his army at Kora Jahanabad enjoining on him to present himself at his court. The Rohilla leader left for Kora immediately. While approaching the royal camp, he was warmly greeted by notable dignitaries of the Mughul court, including Munir-ud-Doulah [a] and Najaf Khan [b]

as well as the English Commander Col. Barker. The next day he was received at the royal camp and had the honour of a personal audience with the Emperor of Delhi. Hafiz-ul-Mulk received from the Emperor special honours and favours. He was granted a *Khil-'at* in token of restoration of his old status as plenipotentiary of the Emperor. His three sons, Iradat Khan, Hafiz Mohd. Yar Khan and Ghulam Mustafa Khan, also had the honour of being presented to the Emperor who bestowed *Khil'at* upon each of them. The Afghan sardars, Fateh Khan Khansaman, Mustaqim Khan and Abdus Sattar Khan, also were recipients of special marks of distinction. The youngest son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, named Ahmad Yar Khan, who had just then finished learning the Holy Quran by heart, was received by the Emperor in his prayer room and asked to recite some portions of the Holy Qur'an. His accurate and charming style of recitation so pleased the Emperor that he gave him a baby elephant as a gift and promised to confer upon him more honours and distinctions. Accordingly, later on, he was made Panj Hazari and permitted to maintain two thousand horse. Besides the gift of a palanquin, titles of Mo'azzam-ud-Doulah and Hashmat Jang were also conferred upon him. A few days later when Shah 'Alam left for Allahabad, Hafiz-ul-Mulk received more honours and gifts from the emperor. Laden with new honours and distinctions Hafizulmulk returned to Bareilly. Here he received the sad news of the death of Mulla Mohsin Khan who had at first served Nawab Ali Mohd. Khan



Nawab Hafiz Mohd. Yar Khan
S/o Hafizulmulk

and, after his death, had displayed remarkable feats of vaour and heroism at critical moments in the service of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, whose confidence and esteem he continued to enjoy till the last moment of his life. His son, Mohd. Hasan Khan, was permitted to retain the command of his late father's troops.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Marathas renew raids on Northern India. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Difficulties

1. Marathas reappear in Northern India in 1770. 2. Hafizulmulk's Move for an alliance with Jat Raja Nawal Rai - exchange of important letters. 3. Consequences of Ignoring Hafizulmulk's advice—fight between Nawal Rai and Marathas. 4. Marathas march upon Farrukhabad - Hafizulmulk prepares for helping the Bungash. Najibud Doulah's selfishness. 5. Zabita Khan's letter to Hafizulmulk. 6. Trial of strength between Afghans and Marathas. 7. Fate of Etawah and Shikohabad. 8. Peace with Marathas. Etawah and Shkohabad surrendered. 9. Hafizulmulk returns to Rohilkhand—Dundey Khan's death. 10. Hafizulmnlk visits Najibabad.

1. Marathas re-appear in Northern India in 1770.

A decade had not elapsed since the battle of Panipat when the Marathas, on the termination of a series of civil wars, planned to recover their lost prestige and influence in Northern India. At the head of one lakh trained troops they crossed the river Narbada in 1770 with a view to reoccupying Northern India. Their main targets in this expedition were the Rohillas and other Muslim rulers who had combined with Ahmad Shah Abdali in toppling down the structure of Maratha supremacy in Northern India, in 1761. But they were equally determined not to spare any non-Muslim ruler or military adventurer who might stand in their way. They plundered the states of Rajput princes lying on the way and did not spare the Jats, whose territory interposed between the Maratha seat, Ujjain

and the Rohilla land. When the Marathas from Deccan approached Ujjain, Hafiz-ul-Mulk got information of their sinister designs. He tried to rouse the Jats and make them realise the gravity and imminence of the danger to which both were exposed, and suggested a combined effort to roll back the tide of the Maratha aggression.

2, Hafizulmulk's move for an alliance with Jet Nawal Rai - Exchange of important letters.

With this end in view Hafiz-ul-Mulk sent a very friendly and prudently drafted letter to Raja Nawal Rai of Bharatpur in which he worte:—

'My dear and sincere Raja Sahib,

With longings beyond description for heart-gladdening meeting I wish to express that in the absence of a letter conveying your welfare, my anxiety is on the increase. Though our feelings of mutual love do not suffer any set-back thereby, yet interruption in the exchange of messages causes anxiety on this score. You might have heard from other sources of the eruption of the Deccani armies into Northern India under three Maratha sardars and of the excesses perpetrated by them. Although I do not think there is any sardar or ruler on this side who will ignore to adopt preventive measures against this calamity, or choose to take wrong steps, or fail to have recourse to essential expedients with confidence in the grace and bounty of the Almighty God; yet it is much regretted that the leaders of this country, having thrown caution and foresight to the winds, have nurtured

mutual dissensions with the result that if one man's house catches fire, the incident fails to elicit a word of pity from his neighbours; on the other hand, it fills their hearts with glee. In the past when Bhau invaded this part of our country, every body got ready and fore-armed himself for its defence. The Abdali king also sided with us in our predicament and, taking all the princes of India under his protection, he set himself to the task of defending our country. But a deep study of the situation today would reveal that every group is grossly occupied with its own misfortune and does not know how the others are faring. You are a great ruler and the dignity and majesty of your dynasty is well known throughout India. If you girt up your loin to nip these depredations in the bud and count the leaders of this area (Rohilkhand) among your comrades-in-arms, the everhaunting anxiety will be dispelled and our hearts will be reassured. But due to financial stringency we count on you for pecuniary assistance, which may enable us to provide our forces with necessary relief and make them ready for an armed venture and thus requite the debt of friendship to you, by the grace of God. If we come out successful, we will not need any financial aid in future. The facts have to be brought to your attention as your country is situated on the way of the flood of Maratha invasion and is likely to be affected by it, sooner than others. In any case we are no longer to be arraigned by our sincere friend for default. Other matters will be explained by Munshi Chaturbhoj personally. Nothing more to add.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's letter was delivered to the Jat ruler while he was in the midst of a civil war. Raja Jawaharmal had died in 1768 and his son Ratan Singh was killed in 1769. His minor child, Kheri Singh, was on the throne. His two uncles, Nawal Rai (the addresse of Hafiz-ul-Mulk) and Ranjit Singh, were fighting for the office of the Chief Minister. The younger brother, Ranjit Singh, had invited the Sikhs to his help, while Nawal Rai had sought the assistance of the Marathas. Placed as such, Nawal Rai, wrote a very imprudent letter to Hafiz-ul-Mulk which reads as follows:—

'My dear and sincere Nawab Sahib,

'It is a great pleasure to receive your honoured letter. It brought us the news of the approach of the Deccan armies. I am very gratified that your sincerity and affection for us led you respond to the demands of friendship. Your prudent suggestions were also known in detail. My dear friend ! the intrinsic value of your friendship can only be best tested by a rub on the touchstone of trial in adversity. In brief, I had already known from the reports of my agents, living at the court of Peshwa, that Shrimanth Bahadur has sent Tukuji Hulker and Patel Sahib to collect dues from India which have been in arrear for many years; as well as to find ways to heal up the blister which torments their hearts since the past reverses. These leaders have reached Ujjain with innumerable forces and royal accoutrements. They have also informed me that this time they intend to conquer the entire country and to govern it by mutual consultation and

advice. They have asked me to send an accredited representative to them and to suggest the route by which their troops should march. In the first leg of their march the troops will halt at Jaipur for a few days. I have, accordingly, deputed a trustworthy agent and have also agreed to meet these exalted leaders on their arrival. This time the noble Maratha sardars will not be contented with the conquest of a single territory or the submission of a single ruler. Therefore, out of my deep regard for you I write that you and other military leaders should intimate me frankly whether you will join the Marathas or will stand against them; so that when the crucial moment arrives, the claims of friends might receive due consideration. If there is any dust of enmity in the hearts of the Deccani leaders and the Indian sardars, it will be my efforts to remove it, rather than to make it an occasion of bloodshed; because I stand firmly between the contending parties. I cherish at heart the prosperity and weal of my friends. If you feel any hesitation in revealing the inner feelings of your heart, it cannot be helped, because to take any initiative in such a state of mind will be like discharging an arrow in the air, which may or may not hit the target. Other things will be conveyed to you by Munshi Chaturbhoj. Please let me have the pleasure of learning your welfare. May your days be full of happiness[1]?!

1. Tarikh-i-Oudh. 'There letters were obtained by the author from the Bharatpur archives. They were in Persian language from which I have translated in Urdu.'—(*Author*)

How far Hafiz-ul-Mulk acted up to the suggestions offered by Raja Nawal Singh is uncertain; no contemporary history contiains any indication to it. It seems probable that in view of the traditional animosity and innate treacherous dealings of the Marathas, the reply of the Raja Nawal Singh must have disappointed him so deeply as not to consent to open negotiations of peace through his agency. The Raja himself had to curse his stars for placing confidence in the Marathas and entertaining high hopes from them. The author of the *History of the Jats*, Prof. K.K. Quanungo, writes:—

'The Marathas, instead of taking up the role of a powerful peace maker among the various rival Indian princes played the part of mischief mongers and fomenters of anarchy and civil war among them. As long as the sons of Surajmal were seeking the arbitration of the sword for settling the problem of premiership, the Marathas enjoyed the sight with pleasure from a distance. But when Nawal Singh brought the civil war well-nigh to a close by defeating his brother Ranjit Singh and sending back the Sikhs with bribes of large amont of money, the Marathas entered the Jat territory and subjected the villages in the neighbourhood of Bharatpur to systematic brigandage. At the same time they urged Ranjit Singh to renew fighting with his brother.'

3. Consequences of ignoring Hafizul-mulk's advice-fight between Nawal-Rai and Marathas.

Contrary to all their pledges and promises the Marathas, instead of supporting Nawal Singh, picked up quarrel with him for no other purpose than

extorting wealth from him. The Raja was taken unaware and in a battle near Deeg, he sustained a crushing defeat. He lost five thousand horsemen and two thousand foot in killed and wounded and saved his territory by paying sixty-five lakhs of rupees to the Marathas. If he had welcomed Hafiz-ul-Mulk's offer of coalition and refused to walk into the trap set up by the Marathas, he would have been spared the evil day, and further more the sweeping tide of the Maratha aggression would have been rolled back.

4. Marathas march upon Farrukhabad. Hafizulmulk prepares for halping the Bungash. Najibud Doulah's selfishness.

Having dealt a severe blow upon the Jats, the Marathas now turned their attention to the real enemies who had brought disgrace upon them at the fateful field of Panipat, namely, Nawab Najib-ud-Doulah, Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash, Hafiz-ul-Mulk Rohilla and others. The Rohillas were greatly alarmed and everyone of them began to devise ways and means to ensure his own safety. In this national crisis Najib-ud-Doulah behaved with unashamed selfishness. Without consulting other Pathan leaders and in order to secure his own personal ends he went to the Doab with his army and through the good offices of Deesaji Kishan and his old friend Tukuji Hulker, he made peace with Marathas. In order to divert their attention from his own territory he persuaded the Marathas to invade Farrukhabad.[1] The Marathas eagerly agreed to act up to his suggestion and on the 27th April, 1770, the two armies marched against Farrukhabad. Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash had grown old and lost his eye-

1. Grant Duff—'History of the Marathas.'

sight. When he heard of the Maratha advance upon his territory, he invoked the help of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, writing to him, 'Najib-ud-Doulah, to feed his old grudge, was marching against me in alliance with Mahadaji Scindia, Tukuji Hulker, Ramchandraji Ganesh and Deesaji. Come to my help". Hafiz-ul-Mulk was already convinced that war with the Marathas was inevitable. He was only waiting to bring about union among a few powerful rulers to form a united front against them. It was with this end in view that he had written to the Jat ruler, Nawal Singh, as already mentioned. But having despaired of him, he centred his hopes in the rulers of his own tribe. Najib-ud-Doulah's conduct at this juncture, however, dashed all his hopes to the ground. Now there was none to whom he could appeal for unity in the face of a mighty danger. He had high hopes of Shuja'-ud-Doulah, but since his treaty with the British in 1765 he had become practically a tool in their hands. Warren Hastings was the Governor-General of the British possessions in India. He would not embroil himself in a clash with the Marathas. It was probably by his advice that Shuja-ud-Doulah was maintining regular correspondence with the Marathas. Hafiz-ul-Mulk found no silver lining of hope in the thickening clouds of adversity which threatened to burst over the heads of Rohillas.

All these adverse circumstances, notwithstanding, and with full confidence in God, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, on receiving the letter of his friend Ahmad Khan Bungash, ordered a levy of his troops. In the meantime, a report

was received that Najib-ud-Doulah and the Marathas had crossed the Jumna. Hafiz-ul-Mulk lost no time in marching to Farrukhabad and stopped at Kadirganj. There he learned that Najib-ud-Doulah, due to his serious illness, had left the Maratha camp and while on his way back to Najibabad, he died at Hapur. His eldest son Zabita Khan was detained in the Maratha camp with his army. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was shocked to hear of the death of the great Rohilla leader and expressed deep sorrow on his demise. He also changed his plans, apprehending unexpected developments to follow Najib-ud-Doulah's death and decided to prolong his stay at Kadirganj. He, however, despatched a contingent of fifteen thousand men to Farrukhabad under the command of his trustworthy officers like Abdus Sattar Khan and Syed Ahmad Shah.

5. Zabita Khan's letter to Hafizulmulk. At Kadirganj Hafiz-ul-Mulk received, quite unexpectedly, a letter from Zabita Khan saying :

"I am very ashamed of the line of action adopted by my late father and, at present, I am collaborating against my will, with the Marathas. How eagerly I wish that on pretext of condoling my father's death I may return to my estate; but they would not permit me. If you enter Farrukhabad immediately I will try my best to arrange a settlement with the Marathas on the plea that I cannot fight against Ahmad Khan. In this way, I hope to obtain deliverance from them."[1]

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk whose purity of heart and virtue of forgiveness were unequalled, was deeply moved by the helplessness and distress of Zabita Khan and got ready, forthwith, to render every possible help to him in his distress, even though the late Najib-ud-Doulah had played false to him. He ordered his troops to march.

6. Trial of strength between Afghans and Marathas.

In the meantime, the Maratha forces had arrived at a place fourteen miles off Farrukhabad. Hafiz-ul-Mulk made a rapid advance with his troops and encamped at Fatehgarh on the bank of the river Ganges. He issued orders for the construction of a bridge across the river. Nawab Ahmad Khan, who, on account of his blindness, was unable to go personally to welcome Hafiz-ul-Mulk, sent his ministers and officials to receive him. The next day Hafiz-ul-Mulk crossed the Ganges in a boat and reached Farrukhabad to meet Nawab Ahmad Khan, enquired about his health and gave assurance of all possible assistance. Then he returned to his camp. When the bridge was ready, Hafiz-ul-Mulk ordered his twenty thousand men to cross the river and engage the Marathas in a hand-to-hand fight. The army took up its position with the town of Farrukhabad at its back.

The advance parties of the Rohillas and the Marathas had many a petty skirmish. A few days later, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, on the request of Zabita Khan and with the concurrence of Nawab Ahmad Khan, sent his

nephew, Khan Mohd. Khan, to Tukuji Hulker with instructions to secure through the good offices of Hulker, a personal friend of the late Najib-ud-Doulah, release of Zabita Khan, and to negotiate for a peace treaty between the Marathas and Ahmad Khan. Khan Mohd. Khan accordingly went to the Maratha camp. First of all he met Zabita Khan and assured him, on behalf of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, of every possible assistance. Later, he started negotiations for peace with the Maratha leaders through the agency of Hulker. They told him that Zabita Khan could be set at liberty and a peace with Ahmad Khan could be arranged only if Hafiz-ul-Mulk surrendered his possessions of Etawah and Shikohabad. Khan Mohd. Khan conveyed these terms to Hafiz-ul-Mulk. He was also accompanied by Chetram, adviser of Zabita Khan, who conveyed a message from his master, suggesting that in order to enable him to secure his own release from their hands, the Marathas might be humoured with evasive promises of the surrender of the two parganas. He would regard this as a personal favour.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk, on hearing these conditions of peace, flew into rage and resolved that only sword would decide the issue. But, later, the consideration of the dreadful consequences that would befall Zabita Khan in case of an armed clash, cooled him and he reconciled himself to the loss of his aforesaid possessions for the sake of Zabita Khan. He sent Khan Mohd. Khan again to the Maratha camp with the message that if the Marathas set Zabita Khan at liberty he would hand

over to them Etawah and Shikohabad after consulting his general, Dundey Khan, and his eldest son, 'Inayat Khan whose consent was necessary because these places had been assigned as *jagirs* by Ahmad Shah Abdali to them. He, however. assured the Maratha that neither of them would demur at his (Hafiz-ul-Mulk's) proposal.

The Marathas, depending on the integrity and reliability of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, were, after considerable haggling, a little inclined to permit Zabita Khan to leave the Maratha camp. Before the permission had been communicated to Zabita Khan, the army of Najib-ud-Doulah, under orders from Zabita Khan, arrived from Najibabad, Ghausgarh and other places and encamped at a distance of 15 miles from the Maratha camp. As soon as Zabita Khan heard of the arrival of his troops, he secretly left the Maratha camp with Khan Mohd. Khan early in the morning, without informing the Marathas. On the way he permitted Khan Mohd. Khan to depart. Thus leaving Hafiz-ul-Mulk to face the fury and ferocity of the Marathas, this ungrateful selfish young man marched to Najibabad at the head of his army. When Khan Mohd. Khan reached the Afghan camp next morning and related the whole thing to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, the latter was dumbfounded and could not account for the timidity, callousness and selfishness of Zabita Khan.

In this state of anguish and mental unrest, Hafiz-ul-Mulk steeled his heart against whatsoever may come to him and waited with unruffled serenity and self-

composure for the development of events. The Marathas were convinced that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was the main wirepuller behind the dramatic escape of Zabita Khan and they at once started fighting with the Afghan troops, entrenched in front of them. Unfortunately the Afghan army was not under the command of experienced and tried leaders, like Dundey Khan, Bakhshi Sardar Khan, Fateh Khan, Sheikh Kabir and 'Inayat Khan. The new commanders were mostly persons who, on account of their inexperience and licentious habits, could not plunge themselves in an action with the tenacity and reckless daring usual with the Afghans. The result was that the Marathas got better of the Rohillas in every counter. It is a self-evident truth that excess of wealth and luxury tends to make persons irresolute, unambitious and pleasure-loving. The same Rohillas, who only ten years ago, had scattered Marathas hosts easily in the battle of Panipat, now felt so much crestfallen and dispirited that they feared facing them in an armed clash. But as the Marathas had not yet forgot the lesson of the past heroic thrusts of the Afghan army of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, they did not dare follow up their victory by pursuing the defeated Rohillas. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, of course, displayed his usual intrepidity and valour, but when he was convinced that his men had lost heart, he did not risk a big battle and left the field. Crossing the river Ganges with his troops, he pitched his camp at Fatehgarh. The Marathas, too, did not think it prudent to face a decisive battle with Hafiz-ul-Mulk. They left Farrukhabad and proceeded towards Etawah.

7. Fate of Etawah and Shikohabad.

The Marathas had set their hearts upon the forcible occupation of Etawah and Shikohabad in retaliation of what the Marathas considered a breach of faith by Hafiz-ul-Mulk in relation to Zabita Khan's release. They had, therefore, abandoned their designs on Farrukhabad. Hafizulmulk sent for his son 'Inayat Khan from Bareilly to hold consultations concerning the future of Etawah. In the meanwhile, Nawab Dundey Khan, who was laid up with a serious disease at Bisauli, sent a letter to Hafizulmulk saying, "At present neither it is reasonable to go in pursuit of the Marathas to save Etawah and Shikohabad, nor will it be expedient to send the army which is not doing its best on the battlefield, therefore I relinquish my possession of Shikohabad and 'Inayat Khan should also give up Etawah and thus pave the way to peace with the Marathas.'

All the military commanders who dreaded fighting pulled their weight in favour of the proposals of Dundey Khan. But 'Inayat Khan was not in a mood to fall in with his proposal and he said to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, "If permitted, I am ready to take up the responsibility of this expedition". Hafiz-ul-Mulk replied, "I have no faith in my army and I am certain they will take to their heels leaving you alone in the battlefield". Thereupon 'Inayat Khan returned to Bareilly in a sullen mood.

8. Peace with Marathas. Etawah and Shikohabad surrendered.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk conveyed his consent to surrender Etawah and Shikohabad and make peace. The Marathas had, in the meanwhile, laid siege to

Etawah. Sheikh Kabir, the Governor of Etawah, got his out-post ready for withstanding the siege. There raged between the Marathas and the Afghans severe fightings for four days in which the Marathas were repulsed. Failing to occupy Etawah by force, they sent their agents to Sheikh Kabir, intimating that Hafiz-ul-Mulk had consented to conclude peace and surrender Etawah and Shikohabad and advised him to stop further blood-shed. Sheikh Kabir wrote in reply, "I have received orders from Hafiz-ul-Mulk. But since you tried to conquer the fort by arms, I had no other alternative but to defend myself. Now that you want to occupy the fort through a treaty of peace, I will not oppose it. Please send me the requisite document signed and sealed by all the Maratha sardars. You should also pay me for the provisions in the fort before I withdraw".

The Maratha sardars, after a little higgling, sent one lakh of rupees as the price of the foodgrains together with the document of peace to Sheikh Kabir who vacated the fort in April, 1771 and set up his camp at a distance of 4 miles. The next day Sheikh Kabir, accompanied by the son-in-law of Mahadaji Scindia and his agent Chaman Beg, arrived in the camp of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and submitted to him the document, bearing the seals of Scindia. Hulkar and Ram Chandra Ganesh testified to the treaty. Hafiz-ul-Mulk kept the Maratha *vakils* as his guest for a few days and on their departure they were honoured with *Khila'at* and other presents.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk now returned to Rohilkhand from Farrukhabad. The sacrifice, he made for his friend, Nawab Ahmad Khan, involved lakhs of rupees spent on military preparations and loss of two of his important possessions. At his departure, they embraced each other with a warmth of affection which could not be expressed in words. It was their last meeting.

9. Hafizulmulk returns to Rohilkhand — Dundy Khan's death.

On his return to Rohilkhand Hafiz-ul-Mulk spent a few days at Pilibhit. Then he went to Bisauli to inquire after the health of Nawab Dundey Khan who was in the grip of an incurable disease. But while still on his way, he got the news of his friend's death, which overwhelmed him with grief. At Bisauli he stayed till the 40th day of his friend's death and was occupied with the distribution of his *jagir* among his three successors. The death of Dundey Khan was an irreparable loss to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, as it snatched from him, for good, his most trustworthy and loyal friend. He was a man of exceptional qualities and virtues, possessed of high dignity and majestic bearing. He was unswerving in his loyalty and true to his words. He was second to none, among his contemporaries, in buoyancy of spirit, undaunted heroism and unshakable determination and was resourceful in moments of danger. He was the Afghan leader who had established, by his unflinching courage, the terror and prestige of the Rohillas far and wide. His presence in any engagement was a guarantee of eventual success for his side. Dundey Khan was

born in Roh and came to Rohilkhand in the early days of Daud Khan's ascendancy. He was the son of Hasan Khan, a direct descendant of Sheikh Shahabuddin *alias* Kotababa. Thus he was a cousin of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. He was 67 at the time of his death. He was buried in Bisauli where his tomb still exists. In this village a fort, a few mosques, baths and buildings still commemorate the memory of this great soldier and statesman.

10. Hafizulmulk visits Najibabad. From Bisauli Hafiz-ul-Mulk proceeded to Najibabad to pay condolence visit to Zabita Khan on the death of his father, Najib-ud-Doulah. Zabita Khan accorded him a hearty welcome and presented him *nazar* in the fort of Najibabad. Next day Hafiz-ul-Mulk gave him a dress of condolence and installed him in his father's place. He advised all his relations to remain loyal and obedient to Zabita Khan. Kallu Khan and Mallu Khan, the step-brothers of Zabita Khan from Dundey Khan's daughter, were in his custody. Hafiz-ul-Mulk recommended their release and Zabita Khan not only set them free but granted a *jagir* to each of them. Then Hafiz-ul-Mulk returned to Bareilly. In spite of the treacherous dealings of Zabita Khan in the past, Hafiz-ul-Mulk extended his hand of cordiality and cultivated friendly relation with him. This is an ample proof of his large-heartedness and also an unmistakable evidence of his political farsightedness, which healed the sore that had poisoned the relations of the two powerful sardars at a time when the enemies were crowding around to bring about their complete effacement.

CHAPTER XXVII

Shah A'lam restored to the throne of Delhi.

1. Emperor Shah A'lam eager to return to Delhi with Maratha countenance. 2. Nawab Ahmad Khan Bungash supports Emperor and Marathas. 3. The Emperor leaves British Camp for Farrukhabad on Nawab's Invitation. 4. Death of Ahmad Khan Bungash 1771. 5. Hafizulmulk's attitude towards the Emperor — intercedes with Zabita on behalf of the Emperor. 6. Madhaji Scindia in Control of Delhi Politics. 7. Hafizulmulk in Farrukhabad tries to mediate between Zabita and the Bungash. 8. Marathas crush Zabita—Fear among Rohillas.

1. Emperor Shah A'lam eager to return to Delhi with Maratha countenance.

Having strengthened their hold on the trans-Gangetic region by occupying Etawah, Shikohabad and other districts, the Marathas cast their covetous eyes upon the imperial capital, Delhi, which was then administered by Zabita Khan, who had succeeded Najib-ud-Doulah as Chief Minister and was ruling over Delhi from Najibabad. Zabita Khan was a strong ruler. He had, under his command, an army of one lakh horse and foot, and enjoyed the goodwill of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. The Marathas, by themselves, were not strong enough to face him. They were afraid lest supplanting the Muslim empire by a non-Muslim power might provoke all Muslim leaders of Northern India into forming a united front against them and the history of the battle of 1761 be repeated. In view of their past bitter experience they changed their plan and resolved to offer the throne to Shah A'lam, the puppet Mughal

emperor, who was then living in Allahabad under the protection of Shuja-ud-Doulah, as a pensioner of the British, and was eager to return to Delhi and occupy the throne of his predecessors. The dread of Najib-ud-Doulah and the opposition of Shujaud-Doulah and the British had, hitherto, deterred him from taking this step. Now, however, counting on the support of the Maratha sardars and disregarding all political considerations he got ready to throw himself into their arms.

2. Nawab Ahmad Khan Bungash supports Emperor and Marathas.

Besides the Marathas, Nawab Ahmad Khan Bungash had also repeatedly invited Shah A'lam to Farrukhabad.[1] The Nawab had taken this step on account of his deep-seated hostility to Najib-ud-Doulah. He had refrained from declaring open war against Najib-ud-Doulah under there straining influence of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. But when Najib-ud-Doulah, throwing away Hafiz-ul-Mulk's friendship, allied himself with the Marathas against him, Ahmad Khan was greatly exasperated and in a fit of vindictiveness, he made up his mind to befriend the Marathas in order to humiliate Zabita Khan.

3. The Emperor leaves British Camp for Farrukhabad on Nawab's invitation.

He, therefore, lent support to the Maratha scheme of restoring Shah A'lam to Delhi. In order to promote this scheme he invited Shah A'lam to Farrukhabad, where, he thought, he would be free

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.— (*Author*)

from the control of Shuja-ud-Doulah and the East India Company, and would easily yield to the scheme of the Marathas who wished to escort him to Delhi. According to the author of *Gul-i-Rahmat*, "The emperor deemed it a God-send opportunity and in May, 1771, he started from Allahabad for Farrukhabad." The British and Shuja-ud-Doulah did their best to dissuade him from his resolve, but they did not consider it expedient to prevent him by force. Shuja-ud-Doulah and the British Commander-in-Chief escorted him up to Kora and made one last attempt to persuade the king to change his mind, but in vain.[1]

4. Death of Ahmad Khan Bungash 1771, The king had not reached Farrukhabad when Nawab Ahmad Khan breathed his last. Highly perplexed at this unexpected turn of events, he wrote to Madhaji Scindia, "I am on my way to Delhi. Please join me with your forces". He also despatched the following *firman* to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, "On the request of Nawab Ahmad Khan we had decided to visit Farrukhabad on our way to Shahjahanabad. But as the Nawab has died, it is your duty to have the honour of joining our company. If for any important and pressing business it may not be possible for you to present yourself before us, you should write to Zabita Khan to withdraw from Shahjahanabad immediately; if he were reluctant to do so and raise the standard of revolt, you should not give him any assistance nor should

1. 'Hastings and the Rohilla wer'—stracheg (Author)

you send any reinforcement to him ; we count on you as you have never before acted against royal authority.[1]

5. Hafizulmulk's attitude towards the emperor—interceds with Zabita on behalf of the emperor.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk, however, did not consider it expedient to attend on the Emperor personally, because he regarded Zabita Khan as his son and would not take field against him. He, therefore, explained to the Emperor various reasons which precluded him from attending the Imperial Court. But he sent an urgent letter to Zabita Khan advising him to relinquish his hold upon Delhi Fort and to obey the royal *firman*. At the same time he sent Faizullah Khan, whose sister was married to Zabita Khan, to Najibabad with instructions to persuade him, by all possible means, to carry out the royal commands. Faizullah Khan used all his influence to urge Zabita Khan to abide by the emperor's wishes and not to risk a battle with the Marathas, but Zabita Khan remained adamant.

6. Madhaji Scindia in control of Delhi politics.

In the meantime, *Madhaji* Scindia arrived at the head of an army of 20,000 men to escort the Emperor to Delhi. They were admitted into the city on the 25th Dec. 1771, without any opposition from the followers of Zabita Khan, and Shah A'lam was installed on the throne of Delhi, in the fort, with the help, and under the protection, of the Marathas.

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1. Gulstan-e-Rahmat (Author)

With the Mughul Emperor under their control, the Marathas determined to destroy the power and influence of Zabita Khan and made preparations to invade his dominion. Zabita Khan, soon after hearing of the Emperor's installation with the help of the Marathas, collected all his forces and started for Delhi to reoccupy it. Hafiz-ul-Mulk ordered Sheikh Kabir to hasten to Zabita Khan, with instructions to try his utmost to dissuade him from marching upon Delhi and himself proceeded at the head of a small force to Farrukhabad to condole the death of Nawab Ahmad Khan Bungash. His real object, however, was to prevent a clash between the Bungash troops and Zabita Khan. At Fatehgarh he was accorded a grand reception by the Vakil of Muzaffar Jang, son of the late Nawab Ahmad Khan. Muzaffar Jang also sent him a message suggesting that Hafiz-ul-Mulk personally install him on the *Gaddi* of Farrukhabad.

7. Hafizulmulk in Farrukhabad tries to mediate between Zabita and the Bungash.

The next day Hafiz-ul-Mulk reached the residence of Muzaffar Jang, expressed sympathy and condolence on the death of his father and then placed him on the *Gaddi*.[1] He advised Muzaffar Jang not to collude with the Marathas against Zabita Khan. Muzaffar Jang took this counsel to heart and did not take part in the war between Zabita Khan and the Marathas, which broke out shortly after.

8. Marathas crush Zabita—fear among Rohillas.

A few days later, when Hafiz-ul-Mulk was returning from Far-

1. Tarikh-i-Oudh, Vol. II

rukhabad, he received at Tilhar the dreadful news of Zabita Khan's defeat, capture of his family, plunder of Sukkartal and Najibabad and Zabita Khan's flight to Rampur to seek shelter with Faizullah Khan. He also learned that the Marathas were shortly to enter Rohilkhand in pursuit of Zabita Khan. He hastened back to Bareilly to find all his military commanders and Rohilla leaders filled with despondency and fear, and preparing to seek shelter in hill tract. Hafiz-ul-Mulk tried to dispel their fear and consternation and told them that it was not necessary for them to leave their homes and hearths and that he would take steps to arrange peace with Shah 'Alam and the Marathas. The Afghan leaders, thereupon, represented that, there being no place of safety in Bareilly and Pilibhit, it was proper to shift their families to a safe place, so that freed from any apprehension concerning the honour and safety of their families, they might be in a better position to settle matters with the Marathas, through war or peace.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk approved of this suggestion and leaving 'Inayat Khan as his agent at Pilibhit, set off for Nanakmath at the foot of the hill. Discovering a secure place — Gangapur — surrounded by hills and dense forests, he sent the families of all his officers, sardars and soldiers there, while he himself stayed for some time at Nanakmath. Here he was joined by Zabita Khan and Faizullah Khan. They pressed him to seek help from Shuja-ud-Doulah, instead of opening negotiations with the Emperor and the Marathas.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Marathas Attack Rohilkhand.

1. The Marathas attack Rohilkhand. 2. Shujaud Doulah scared into seeking alliance with the British. 3. Zabita's flight. 4. Hafizul-mulk persuaded to meet British Commander—execution of bond of 40 lac rupees.

1. Marathas attack Rohilkhand.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had hardly finalised his plan when the Marathas began their raids into Rohilkhand and spread devastation all around. They occupied Sambhal, Moradabad and Amroha and ravaged every part of the territory. They had a long-range programme which included an expedition against Oudh, and, thereafter, to burst into Bihar and Bengal to deal with the British.

2. Shujaud Doulah scared into seeking alliance with the British.

Shuja-ud-Doulah became alarmed at the hostile designs of the Marathas. In January, 1772, he passed on the information to Calcutta with the request that the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Barker, be directed to meet him at Faizabad. The meeting took place on 20th Jan. 1772[1]. The British Commander-in-Chief found Shuja-ud-Doulah undecided. He counselled an alliance with the Marathas to conquer Rohilkhand, and parcel it out between themselves, and in the same breath suggested, alternatively, an understanding with the Rohillas for a defensive war against the Marathas. The British, too, were fearful of the Maratha influence extending so near the frontier of their own territory as Oudh. The

1. 'Hastings and the Rohilla war'. (Author)

British representatives, therefore, supported the second alternative and, in pursuance thereof, a British force reached Oudh, at Shujaud Doulah's cost. Sir Robert Marker and Shujaud Doulah, accompanied by this army, arrived at the frontier of Rohilkhand and encamped at Shahabad in the district of Hardoi to watch further developments.

11. Zabita's flight. When Zabita Khan got the news of the arrival of Shujaud Doulah at Shahabad, he took leave of Hafizulmulk in a great hurry and confusion and went to Shujaud Doulah to try for the release of his family[1]. Shujaud Doulah and Sir Robert Barker both desired keenly to give help to the Rohillas on their solicitation, and to make with them a treaty of mutual alliance favourable to themselves. They, therefore, readily agreed to help Zabita Khan on the condition that in a personal discussion with Hazfiulmulk the issue be fully thrashed out. Accordingly Zabita Khan sent an urgent appeal to Hafizulmulk to reach Shahabad and meet Shujaud Doulah.

12. Hafizulmulk persuaded to meet British Commander—execution of bond fo 40 lac rupees. Hafizulmulk did not pay much attention to Zabita's request He knew that the rains were to start shortly, and the Ganges will be in spate, forcing the Marathas to beat at least, temporarily, their retreat from Rohilkhand. By the time they came back after the rains to invade Rohilkhand, the Rohillas will be in a position to make sufficient preparations and meet them on equal terms in the battlefield. But Zabita Khan was very anxious for the release of his family

1. 'Gul-i-Rehmat'. (Author)

He, therefore, continued to press Hafiz Rahmat and his request was backed by Sir Robert Barker, who sent Captain Harper twice to Hafizulmulk on this mission. At last Hafizulmulk agreed, much against his will, to meet the British Commander and Shujaud Doulah and started for this purpose with three thousand troops. On the 25th May, 1772 he entered Shahabad and was given a grand reception by his hosts[1]. Hafizulmulk, Shujaud Doulah and Barker met in a Conference to discuss the ways and means of securing the liberty of Zabita's family and straightening out his relations with the Marathas. After a good deal of discussion the three participants in the Conference sent their agents to the Marathas who agreed to make peace with Zabita Khan for a war indemnity of Rs. 40,00,000/- from him. But Zabita Khan a had no money to make a downright payment in compliance with the Maratha demand. The Marathas, therefore, suggested that a written agreement signed and sealed by Shujaud Doulah for the payment of the amount at a later date be handed over to them as a guarantee. Shujaud Doulah represented that he had agreed to play the mediator in this affair at the request of Hafizulmulk. If he were to stand a surety on behalf of Zabita Khan for the payment of the stipulated amount, he would sign a document under his seal and make it over to the Marathas. Hafizulmulk on the pressing request of Zabita Khan and all the Rohilla leaders and notables who were confined at Gangapur and Nanakmat with

1. 'Hastings and the Rohilla war'. (Author)

their families and were suffering from unfavourable climate and inadequate provision of food supply gave in writing that if the Marathas were turned out of Rohilkhand by means of negotiations or by force, he would pay forty laks of rupees to Shujaud Doulah within a period of three years.[a]

Immediately after the completion of the document and while Hafizulmulk was still in Shahabad, the Marathas were forced by rains to cross the Ganges and march back to Delhi. Shujaud Doulah, according to the authority of *Akhbarus Sanadid*, had not even to do as much as to raise his finger for driving out the Marathas, though his efforts were, no doubt, instrumental in securing the liberation of Zabita Khan's family. With the return of the Marathas force, the armies of the Nawab Wazir and the British returned to Faizabad. Hafizulmulk went back to Pilibhit and the other military officers also made for their respective destinations. The Rohillas had passed four months at the foot of the mountain in Tarai and lost twenty thousand men, women and children due to the ravages of inclement weather; among the victims being Bakhshi Sardar Khan, a redoubtable Afghan Sardar who died at Anola on return from the Tarai tract.[b]

CHAPTER XXIX

Hafizul-Mulk and Inayat Khan cross swords

1. Inayat Khan insists on raising fresh levies. 2. Misunderstanding between father and son leads to armed clashes. 3. Inayat Khan is forced to go into exile. 4. ——returns home and obtains pardon from his father.

Rohilkhand had not yet recovered from the devastation and ravages caused by the Marathas, when the Rohillas themselvs, famed for national accord and community of interest, unfortunately, fell a victim to internal discord and dissension. After the death of Bakhshi Sardar Khan a fratricidal struggle broke out among his sons. It was hardly over when the mischievous wire-pulling of some self-seeking, trouble-happy persons involved Hafizul-mulk in a whirlpool of domestic strife which, besides sapping the peace and tranquillity of the Rohilla land immediately, blazed the trail of calamities and disasters for himself and his family and compatriots in near future.

1. Inayat Khan insists on raising fresh levies.

When on his way back from Shahabad, Hafizul-mulk received a petition from his son Inayat Khan, representing that a large number of his Afghan followers had succumbed to the unfavourable climatic conditions prevailing in the hilly regions, where they had to repair for shelter, and soliciting permission to raise new levies to make up the loss in men. He further represented that the addition of a few thousand

trained warriors under his banner would enable him to defend the land, unaided, from the Marathas, if they later decided to renew their depredations after the cessation of rains.

Hafiz-ul-mulk had agreed to this proposal, but had expressed his wish to fill up the vacant posts by the survivors of the deceased. He, however, allowed Inayat Khan to recruit two or three thousand troopers from among those Afghan followers of Zabita Khan, who, since the latter's reverses at the hands of the Marathas, had been left without employment and with no means to return home. He also assured his son that land assignment for the maintenance of the new recruits will be made in due course.

Inayat Khan, however, acted with precipitancy in this matter. He started recruitment as soon as he reached Bareilly. His precipitate action provided the desired opportunity to some of the nobles and chief advisers of Hafiz-ul-mulk, who were jealous of Inayat Khan's rapid rise to power and were afraid of his harsh and unaccommodating nature, to give a wrong colour to his intentions and motives. They led him to believe that by making large addition to his own troops, Inayat Khan really meant to deposing his father. He gave credence to such slanderous reports and issued an order prohibiting him from enlisting more recruits. Inayat Khan, on the contrary, requested his father to assign the promised jagir to meet the cost of maintaining a few thousand troopers

already recruited by his command. He also promised to abide by the orders of his august father regarding this matter in future.

2. Misunderstanding created between father and son leads to armed clashes.

In the meantime Hafiz-ul-mulk returned to Bareilly from Pilibhit. He was anxious to persuade his son, by soft words, to dismiss freshly-recruited levies of Afghans for the present and to assure him that not long after he would be allowed to increase his army. His choice for communicating his message, unfortunately, fell upon those agents-provocateur who were preparing ground, for their own selfish ends, for a showdown between the father and the son. Instead of negotiating the affair in an atmosphere of goodwill and proper understanding these persons manipulated to worsen the situation by provoking the spirited Afghan youth into declining to part with the body of troops he had already taken into his service. He burst out:—

"I know my august father has not said what you attribute to him. I have collected Afghan troopers by his express orders. Your mischievous utterances will not, God willing, affect my feelings for my father. But I have collected this army for the chastisement of evil wishers and betrayers, who have transgressed beyond their limit and it is absolutely impossible that I should dismiss them".

They returned to Hafizul-mulk to report the fate of their mission. Fully prepared to fan the embittered feelings

of Hafizul-mulk they gave a highly coloured account of what had transpired and succeeded in creating a gulf of estrangement between father and son. Inayat Khan, knowing this, kept himself aloof and with a view to providing safety for himself started recruiting more soldiers and succeeded in collecting around him in the fort of Bareilly a large body of armed followers. His traducers could have no better evidence to convince Hafizulmulk of the treasonable and unfilial designs of his son. He, therefore, left Bareilly and arriving at Pilibhit summoned all his Sirdars, Risaldars and Jamadars from their jagirs to his presence. When they had all assembled he marched at their head towards Bareilly and encamped at the river Nikatya to the east of the city. Inayat Khan also made preparations for defence. Shaikh Kabir tried his level best to bring about reconciliation, but while on the point of success, he breathed his last.

After the death of Shaikh Kabir Hafizul-mulk waited a few days in the hope that his son will wait upon him with a view to seeking pardon ; but in this he was disappointed. He, therefore, set out from his camp and arranged his battery in front of the fort and taking his position westward he ordered his artillery commanders to open fire. But by a clever stratagem of Inayat Khan his enemy who had manouvered for his downfall were hoisted with their own petard.

By the orders of Inayat Khan armed soldiers were sent to the houses of the mischief mongers and

their families were transported to the fort, where they were so stationed on the walls as to be directly exposed to cannon fire. The report of the impending evil fate of their people dismayed the conspirating Afghan nobles who sent Afzal Khan and Sultan Khan, brothers of Najib-ud-Dowlah who were living in Bareilly since the invasion of the Marathas, to Hafiz-ul-mulk to represent to him that a single shot of the gun will ruin them and make them a butt of ignominy and slander. Hafizul-mulk withdrew his orders to open firing.

Failing to dislodge his son from the fort, Hafizul-mulk next day assembled his advisers and discussed the situation with them. Considering discretion to be the better part of wisdom they prepared a document, conferring on Inayat Khan a jagir, comprising the villages of Salimpur, Jhoksa and Faridpur, and submitted it to Hafizul-mulk for his approval. But Hafiz was not in a mood to put the seal of his approval on the document. He turned it down outright and asked his nobles to devise some other way to ease the tense situation. They, however, represented that without the formal cession of a jagir it would be difficult to persuade Inayat Khan to quit the town, and their families and children, exposed as they were to imminent danger, will be a constant source of worry to them. It was, therefore, they said, essential that he should be assigned a few villages, by way of a jagir, even though for the time being. Hafizul-mulk had no alternative but to give his consent, declaring at the same

time that the document was a mere scrap of paper. The *firman* was sent to Inayat Khan, who had already got information of the circumstances under which it had been prepared and signed. Still he accepted it with reverence, though exclaiming "this deed is not of any value, because my respected father has himself declared it so; still I leave the city, so that my traducers may not ascribe my remaining in the city to my cowardice[1]".

Two or three days later, Inayat Khan with his two brothers, Mohammad Didar Khan and Allahyar Khan, who were on his side and nearly five thousand troopers left the fort and pitched his tents at some distance from the city. The next day he crossed the Ramganga and halted at the village Kakroi about 15 miles from Bareilly, and sent his brother Allahyar Khan to collect rent from the village Salimpur.

Hafiz-ul-mulk went in pursuit of his son and stationed his men at a distance of 4 miles from Inayat Khan's tent. The next day Abdullah Khan[2] of Shahjahanpur in company with many other leaders, such as Ahmad Khan, Sardar Khan, Abdussattar Khan and Khan Muhammad Khan, who were pulling wire for the destruction of Inayat Khan fell upon his camp with 15,000 troops without getting any order from Hafiz-ul-mulk. Inayat Khan marshalled his men in battle order and got ready for fighting. The artillery from both sides spitted fire resulting in the death of

1. Gule Rahmat (author).
2. Gulishtan-e-Rahmat (author).

hundreds of soldiers. Inayat Khan with lightning speed attacked the followers of Abdullah Khan and fought so desperately that his enemy found shelter in flight. Abdullah Khan's son was wounded and he himself fled back to Shahjahanpur. The assailants were repulsed with heavy loss and Inayat Khan, in pursuing them, got close to his father's camp, but did not venture to challenge his forces.

Inayat Khan, after the flight of Abdullah Khan, attacked Ahmad Khan, son of Bakhsi Sardar Khan. Ahmad Khan sustained a severe injury on one of his arms, but his followers remained steady in the battle field, till Didar Khan, by a desperate charge forced them to retreat. Seeing the fate of Abdullah Khan and Ahmad Khan other Afghan nobles like Sattar Khan and Khan Muhammad Khan deemed it prudent to retire from the scene of fighting. Inayat Khan pursued them till he came close to his father's camp.

In the meantime Hafiz-ul-mulk on getting true appraisal of the situation from the defeated Afghan nobles rode his elephant with warlike intentions and overtook Inayat Khan's men who were in pursuit of the defeated enemy. They were frightened at the sudden appearance of Hafiz-ul-mulk and concealed themselves in a deserted village, but continued firing from their hiding places. Hafiz-ul-mulk, suspecting the presence of his rebellious son among these people continued to press on with his men, among whom were his remaining sons also, till he and his followers

were well-nigh within the range of gun-shots. Many of them were killed and wounded and Hafiz-ul-mulk himself was not free from danger. But greatly infuriated he continued to advance; his men rallied round him in battle array and directed heavy bombardment against the besieged, who began to cry for shelter and pardon. At this moment Muhibullah Khan son of Dundey Khan with his followers chanced to come upon Inayat Khan who was witnessing the scene of fight and plunder around him. He interrogated, "what makes you stay here?" Inayat replied, 'I have routed the army which was pitted against me. Now I have no intention of prolonging the fight, rather I desire to present myself to my respected father through your intercession.[1]

Muhibbullah Khan offered him a seat on his elephant and brought him to his camp. Inayat asked him to send an emissary to Hafizul-mulk to solicit the pardon of his troopers. Muhibbullah Khan did accordingly and Hafiz-ul-mulk issued orders to let the besieged Afghans go wherever they liked and he himself returned from the scene of action and waited for the arrival of Muhibbullah Khan and Inayat Khan. Muhibbullah came alone and said:

"Inayat, at first, intended to accompany me to your audience, but as soon as he learned that his troopers have been let off and some of them came to him he told me that he would go to his camp for the night and would see you the next day. When I insisted on his accompanying me to you he explained 'If

1. Gul-i-Rahmat (author).

I go with you just now, people will think you are taking me as a prisoner, and I do not think it will be proper to go in such a condition. Under these circumstances I had no alternative but to permit him to leave".

Hafizul-mulk was annoyed at this somersault of his son, he also upbraided Muhibbullah Khan and sent the following message to Inayat Khan, 'You triumphed over weaklings yesterday, tomorrow the contest is between you and me'.[1] Inayat Khan sent the following reply,

"My enemies had been after my blood today without your knowledge. I was forced to liquidate them. Tomorrow I will personally seek your pardon — I will never transgress the bounds of featly."[2]

Hafiz-ul-mulk paid no heed to his son's protestation and next morning ordered his soldiers to follow him to deal with the troop of Inayat Khan. Hearing the report of the approach of his father, Inayat in the company of his brother Allahyar Khan and a few horsemen set out with the intention of presenting himself before his father. He first met Mustaqim Khan, whom he sent to his father to communicate his arrival. He also with his brother followed Mustaqim. When he saw his father seated on the back of his elephant he got down from his horse, bowed and stood with folded hands, beside the elephant. At first Hafizul-mulk did take no notice of his, then after a pause shouted 'what hast thou come for, if still eager

1. Akhbarus-sanadid.
2. Gul-e-Rahmat,

for measuring strength go, thee! to thy army, if not, 'bind thyself in collar and chains'.

Inayat implored, 'I have come in the hope of seeking pardon — but I am willing to abide by your august behest.'

Hafiz-ul-mulk repaired to his camp and issued an order that his son should first see Faizullah Khan and seek his intercession to clear his position and then should present himself accompanied by Faizullah, to his father for securing pardon. Inayat Khan, accordingly arrived at Faizullah's tent, but he had already left for Hafizul-mulk's headquarters where he was arranging with him the terms of negotiation between father and son. After a short while he returned to his camp with a few military and civil officers, and instead of taking an initiative himself in talking with Inayat Khan over terms of conciliation he asked his companions to deliver the orders of Hafizul-mulk, which called upon his son to dismiss his troops and return the booty, on which condition alone he could get pardon. Inayat Khan said in reply, "One of the two alternatives be adopted; either do not ask me for the return of the spoils of war so that I may just now order their dispersal; or take the war booty and do not bind me to disperse the troops, so that I may not be faced with their pressing demand for salary".

The mediators having given a coloured version of the above reasonable reply it did not pacify Hafizulmulk and he ordered Inayat Khan to quit Rohilkhand,

Inayat Khan now despaired of securing his father's pardon. He left Faizullah Khan's tent and returned to his own camp. Here he sent a major portion of the booty to his father and taking with him his two brothers and all his soldiers proceeded to the east. In the exile of Inayat Khan the evil designers, who had worked secretly to undermine the prosperity and solidarity of Hafizulmulk's dynasty, had their cherished desire fulfilled. For among the sons of Hafizul-mulk, Inayat Khan was unrivalled in prudence, personal majesty, manliness and reckless courage. In the battle of Panipat and in some other well-contested engagements he had set up records of valour and intrepidity which had made his adversaries shake in their shoes. The sudden eclipse of a career so well-marked out for scintillating achievements and shining accomplishments is an event too tragic for words. He was a thorn in the side of those perfidious and self-seeking sardars, who were secretly scheming for the break-up and parcelling out of the Rohilla state in India after the death of Hafiz-ul-mulk. As long as Inayat stood by the side of his father they could not succeed in their nefarious designs. His removal was, therefore, the main object of their life, and they accomplished it by sowing the seed of discord and bringing about separation between the father and the son. This unnatural quarrel proved the undoing of both. The mischief-mongers and self-seekers gained their object but Hafiz-ul-mulk's last days were embittered.

3. Inayat Khan's exile—a painful scene.

The luck-forsaken Inayat having fallen out of his father set out for the East. He started on this journey without any emblem of honour and authority—kettle-drum, flag, or attendants. He was followed by a few thousand soldiers, all dispirited and distressed. When crossing the boundary of Rohilkhand, he took his stand on a mound and cast a last glance at the land of his adoption. The events of a long span of stormy life refreshed and invigorated with brilliant and captivating memories of landscapes, and inspiring incidents, which everyone cherishes for his place of residence and associates in the innermost corner of his heart and which hardly find expression in words, suddenly flashed upon his mind. Spending a few minutes in this state of self-absorption he uttered 'Good-bye!' and with wet eyes he mounted his horse and galloped off.

After rambling aimlessly for a few days and having no fixed destination to proceed to, Inayat entered the village Naurahi, situated at a distance of seven miles from Faizabad included in the territory of Shujaud Doulah, who was staying there at that time. He sent his son Sa'dat Ali Khan Murtaza Khan Bahraich, and Himmat Bahadur to welcome Inayat Khan[1]. The Afghan prince accepted the invitation of the ruler of Oudh and entered his camp as an honoured guest. He passed the night in the tent of Mirza Ali and had a meeting with Shujaud Dowlah next day. The Oudh ruler extended every possible hospitality to the young

1, Tarikh-i-Oudh.

guest and conferred many honours upon him and his brother. Having been fully apprised of the strained relations and open rupture between Hafiz and his son Shujaud Dowlah, one day, in a casual talk with Inayat spoke of his scanty income and heavy expenditure. In this connection he said,

"I cannot defray the cost of maintaining a huge armed force consisting of one lakh cavalry, besides a vast paraphernalia. I am designing to annex another territory." He had expected concurrence from Inayat Khan with his design, but the latter kept quiet and returned to his camp, where he spoke to his brothers thus,

"It is not meet to prolong our stay here as Shujaud Dowlah's guest. He is resolved to conquer Rohilkhand. It behoves us to fore-warn our father of his evil intentions, and to take precautions against it".[1]

From Naurahi Shujaud Dowlah took Inayat Khan first to Faizabad and then to Lucknow. At Lucknow, he gave him a sum of Rs. 8,000 for his expenses and promised to allot a considerable jagir for his maintenance. But Inayat Khan was not taken in by his offers and left for Rohilkhand without obtaining Shujaud Dowlah's permission.

4. Returns home and obtains pardon from his father.

Inayat Khan was anxious to inform his father of the hostile intentions of Shujaud Dowlah and this accounts for his sudden and abrupt departure from Oudh. When after forced

1. Gul-e-Rahmat (Author).

marches, he got to Shahjahanpur, Hafiz-ul-mulk sent a message asking him to leave his followers behind and proceed to Bareilly by himself. In case otherwise, he should be ready to face an army. Inayat Khan keeping love of his country above his personal pique and prestige dismissed his forces and reached Bareilly with his two brothers and a few followers. He stayed at the residence of his aunt (father's sister) for whom the Hafiz had great regard. She pleaded with her brother for forgiving the young prince, and also communicated to him the report of Shujaud Dowlah's evil designs, which Inayat Khan had scented. Hafiz-ul-mulk promised to grant his son an interview in a few days.

In the meantime Hafiz-ul-mulk ordered his son to proceed to Aonla to condole the death of Anwar Khan, brother of Abdus Sattar Khan, who had succumbed to the wounds received in the fighting between the Hafiz and his rebellious son. During his stay at Aonla he had an attack of pain in the bladder which forced him to return to Bareilly. The disease did not yield to any treatment, rather grew worse, bringing in its wake other complications, which ended his life not long after.

CHAPTER XXX

Hafiz-ul-Mulk embroiled in destructive War with Marathas for the sake of Shujaud Dowlah.

1. The Marathas seek help from Hafizul-mulk against Shujaud Dowlah.
2. The British help Shujaud Dowlah. 3. Fight with Marathas.
4. Hafizul-mulk accused of plotting with Marathas.

It has been mentioned that in May, 1771, Shah Alam, abandoning his alliance with the British, had placed himself under the protection of the Marathas and had shifted from Allahabad to Delhi. He believed that the districts of Kora and Allahabad would be left in his possession and that the British would continue the payment of the stipulated amount of Rs. 26,00,000 annually as the revenue of Bengal and Bihar. But Hastings, the Governor of Bengal, stopped the payment of the Dewani and prepared to make over Kora and Allahabad to Shujaud Dowlah in return for a large sum of money. This step of Hastings was clearly in contravention to the terms of the treaty which Lord Clive had made with Shah Alam in 1765. The Mughal emperor, therefore, forestalled the action of the English by handing over the two districts to the Marathas and permitted them to acquire this territory by means of force. The Marathas, accordingly, made preparations to invade Oudh with a view to occupying Kora and Allahabad.

1. The Marathas seek help from Hafizul-mulk against Shujaud Dowlah.

For the Marathas, in order to get to Oudh from Delhi, the shortest and nearest route by through the territory of Zabita Khan and Rohilkhand. Hence, the Marathas first of all started negotiations with the Rohilla Chiefs

and succeeded, without difficulty, in rehabilitating friendly relations with Zabita Khan. Thereafter, Scindia and Hulker sent their own agents to Hafizul-mulk inviting him to assist them in their attempt to wrest the territory of Oudh from Shujaud Dowlah and holding out the promise that in case of conquest they would share the conquered territory equally between them. Or alternatively, he should let the Marathas pass through his territory and cross the river Ganges unopposed, in which case they promised to make full compensation for the loss resulting from the march of their army. Another bait which they held out before him was that the bond of Rs. 40,00,000 which had not been redeemed even partially would be returned to him and their claim for the amount would be waived.[1]

Hafiz-ul-mulk asked them to give him some time to think over their offers and in the meantime he informed Shujaud Dowlah of the terms offered by the Marathas. He also wrote to the Nawab Vizir "If you return us the bond of forty lakh of rupees and immediately take the field against the Marathas, we will try to prevent them from crossing the Ganges and will join you in fighting to turn the Marathas out of our country". This news greatly upset Shujaud Dowlah and he sent the following reply to Hafiz-ul-mulk, "I am perfectly satisfied to know that you are not joining the Marathas and in accodance with your suggestions I will take the field against them. You should not delay resisting the Marathas. As

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.

regards the sealed bond, I have spoken to syed Shah Madan. You should put faith in whatever he says. I will not deviate even a hairbreath from it." Syed Shah Madan set out immediately with Shuja's letter to Bareilly, delivered it to Hafiz-ul-mulk and said verbally, "Concerning the return of your sealed bond Shujaud Dowlah has promised that shortly after the dispute with the Marathas has been resolved, a personal interview will be arranged in which the document will be returned to you. You need not have any misgiving on this score, as the parties are no strangers to each other." Hafiz-ul-mulk, who held the Syed in great esteem, believed every word of Shah Madan who had high reputation among Syeds of Shahabad for moral integrity and was accredited agent from Shujaud Dowlah. He, therefore, promised to keep aloof from the Marathas and to make a common cause with Shujaud Doulah.

2. The British help Shujaud Doulah. Shujaud Doulah desired to secure simultaneously military assistance from his allies, the British, and wrote to the Governor General Warren Hestings, "I am extremely anxious and puzzled, because, if the Marathas come out successful and make another agreement with Shah Alam, then what an ugly situation you and I will be called upon to face! My friend! I hope you will not ignore this situation and take necessary precaution. Conditions have now completely changed and you should keep this seriously in mind that our enemies have got complete hold upon the

emperor. Hence it is but obvious that they would now concentrate their attention on my territory which is the gate to enter Bengal. I act as a barrier between you and the Marathas. You should now become vigilant and cautious. It is essential and desirable that General Barker be deputed here." Mt. Hastings endorsed every word of Shuja-ud-Doulah and had a realistic sense of the danger to which the territories of the East India Company were exposed. Still he would not move until he had struck a bargain with Shuja-ud-Doulah and made him agree to pay Rs. 1,15,000 per month for the expenses of the British troops. When these negotiations had been completed, the Governor-General despatched a British contingent under Robert Barker to assist Shuja-ud-Doulah in his struggle against the Marathas. In March, 1773, the Nawab Vizir, with the British forces, landed in Rohilkhand for the first time on his way to Ramgarh.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk also ordered Ahmad Khan, son of Bakhshi Sardar Khan, to reach Ramgarh at once and guard the bridge at Ram Ghat. He himself marched from Bareilly on receiving the news of the arrival of the Maratha forces and reached Bisauli. Then he joined Ahmad Khan who had set up his camp at Asadpur. The Marathas who had crossed the River Ganges intended to attack the camp of Hafiz-ul-Mulk but in the darkness of the night they lost the way and incidentally fell upon the troops of Ahmad Khan. Ahmad Khan carried on a defensive war with great caution and courage. The fighting continued from morning till

afternoon, but the Marathas could not create any impression on Ahmad Khan's forces. But Ahmad Khan himself fell a prisoner into the hands of his enemies and this turned the victory into defeat. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, on hearing the news of the misfortune got ready to join the battle. While he was preparing to march, a courier from Bareilly came rushing on horse and demanded immediate, hurried admittance into camp and was conducted instantaneously into the tent of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. The whole army was in suspense. However in a few minutes' time the news spread like a flash of lightning that Inayat Khan was dead. This sad news stunned everyone who heard it. The march of the army against the Marathas was postponed on that day and the soldiers, laying down their arms, went to Hafiz-ul-Mulk to condole his son's death and offer prayer for the soul of the dead prince. Hafiz-ul-Mulk could control himself no longer and burst into tears. To conceal his grief and mental anguish, he rode to a high mound near Asadpur and there he spent the day in loneliness and in offering prayers. At sun-set he came back to his camp.

3. Fight with the Marathas. Next morning he was to face the enemy. He had with him five thousand horse and foot. But at night he was joined by Mohibullah Khan, Mustaqim Khan and other commanders who had been delayed at Bareilly on account of the serious illness and subsequent death of Nawab Inayat Khan. Now Hafiz-ul-Mulk had under his command an army from ten to

twelve thousand men. Next day, hearing the report of the approaching armies of Shuja-ud-Doulah and the British, the Afghans made a sally and fell upon the Marathas. The allied forces under Sir Robert Barker and Mahboob Ali also joined in time the fight against the Marathas. The Maratha forces fought with great determination and courage, but the combined blows of the British and the Rohillas unnerved them and forced them to leave the field in great disorder. Tukuji Hulker, finding his way to the Ganges barred by the Rohillas, fled towards Sambhal. Hafiz-ul-Mulk went in his pursuit but could not overtake the Maratha troopers. Hulker hastened to Sambhal which he plundered and then he sent his army to ravage Rampur. Nawab Faizullah Khan left the place with his family and sought shelter at the foot of the mountain. Hafiz-ul-Mulk sent Mustaqim Khan and Mulla Syed Khan at the head of an army in pursuit of the Marathas and himself followed Hulker towards Sambhal. Hearing of the march of the Rohilla army, Hulker gave up the idea of plundering Rampur. Instead he plundered Moradabad and then crossing the Ganges near Phaphund joined Madhvaji Scindia. Hafiz-ul-Mulk followed him up to Ohaphund and encamped on the bank of the river. After a few days he joined Shuja-ud-Doulah who was preparing to give a battle to Scindia, with the help of the British allies. Hafiz-ul-Mulk started negotiations with the Marathas, through Shuja-ud-Doulah, for making Madhvaji agree to release Ahmad Khan for a payment



Nawab Shujaud Doulah

of Rs. 2,00,000. Hafiz-ul-Mulk paid the amount from his own purse. The Marathas then left for Delhi for reasons of their own.

4. Hafiz-ul-Mulk accused of plotting with Marathas—The charge refuted.

The three historians of the Rohillas, namely Mr. Hamilton, Sir John Strachey and Maulvi Najmul Ghani Khan, in describing this battle, have quoted several letters exchanged between Shuja-ud-Doulah and Captain Barker to prove that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was secretly in league with the Marathas and was playing a double game. It was why he hesitated to join the battle promptly. But other authentic works written on Hafiz-ul-Mulk totally absolve him of this charge. They contain detailed and incontrovertible instances of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's sincerity, truthfulness and bravery. There is no valid ground to discount these authentic facts.

The well-known British historian, Mr. Mill, says in his 'History of India', that though the forces of the English and the Nawab Vizir of Oudh had entered Rohilkhand and set up their camp on the bank of the river close to the Maratha army which had come to invade Oudh and Kora; yet the Marathas crossed the Ganges and laid waste a considerable part of Rohilkhand including the districts of Sambhal and Moradabad. Their ravages continued up to the end of March and they returned to their territory in May, 1773,

forced by their domestic affairs. The Rohillas are blamed for rendering help to the Marathas, but this is not true. They tried to temporise with them which was inevitable under the prevailing circumstances, but the entire strength of the Rohilla nation was utilised for driving the Marathas to the other side of the river.

CHAPTER XXXI

Shuja-ud-Doulah's Ungratefulness—prepares for the Conquest of Rohilkhand.

Shuja-ud-Doulah's breach of faith—refuses to return the bond.

No sooner was he relieved of the fear of Maratha invasion on Oudh, which object he secured by fomenting a battle between the Rohillas and the Marathas, and by inviting a British force for his help, then Shuja-ud-Daulah began to think of plans to encompass the destruction of the Rohilla supremacy and reduce them to his submission. As early as the 16th March, 1773, Sir Robert Barker had sent a letter to Warren Hastings even before the commencement of the battle, in which he disclosed Nawab's designs and his offer of fifty lakh rupees as price of Birtish collaboration[1].

"On the basis of this letter Hastings informed, on the 3rd April, 1773, Sir John Colebrook in England that the Vizir had set his eyes upon the conquest of Rohilkhand which was continguous to his own state. For helping him to conquer that region the British will be recompensed handsomely[2]".

After the battle, Shuja-ud-Doulah and Barker remained at Ramghat for some time with the ostensible purpose of rest and recreation, but in reality they were secretly trying to win over as many sardars, officers and soldiers of Hafiz-ul-Mulk as they could, as a step, preliminary to the execution of the plan of grasping Rohilkhand. The author of *Gul-e-Rahmat* writes,

1 Sir John Strachey.
2 Kleig's Warren Hastings Vol. 1.

"Whosoever enlisted himself in their service, became the recipient of great favour. Ahmad Khan, son of Bakshi Sardar Khan, received, besides the title of Nawab robe of honour, palanquin, horse and sword. Mohibullah Khan and Fatehullah Khan, sons of Dundey Khan, also received many honours for their defaction. Many other Rohilla notables were promised big rewards in lieu of changing sides. After making these arrangements, the Nawab Vizir and the British Commander-in-Chief left for their respective places." At the time of departure, one British officer, Colonel Champion, desired permission to take his contingent back to Oudh through Rohilkhand. Hafiz-ul-Mulk gave him permission and issued orders to his local officers for free passage of the British forces, and for arranging regular supplies of essential commodities to them. The British force passed through Aonla, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur on their way to the eastern region. It is to be noted that this same route was used by the British and Shuja-ud-Doulah in invading Rohilkhand.

Shuja-ud-Doulah's Breach of Faith—Refuses to return the Bond.

When Hafiz-ul-Mulk learned that Shuja-ud-Doulah had reached home, he sent Khan Mohd. Khan and Obaidullah Khan Kashmiri to him to remind him of the promise he had made through Syed Shah Madan for the return of the bond of forty lakhs of rupees and asked him to fulfil his promise. When they met Shuja-ud-Doulah and explained the object

of their visit, the Nawab Vizir declared that he had made no such promise. Syed Shah Madan was invited in his presence. Shuja-ud-Doulah winked at him not to divulge the fact but the Syed repeated what had actually transpired between them regarding the return of the bond. He also reiterated that on the strength of Shuja-ud-Doulah's promise he had informed Hafiz-ul-Mulk that the bond would be returned to him. Shuja-ud-Doulah was highly provoked at this reply and exclaimed that no such undertaking had been given and that it was deliberate falsehood and a conspiracy against him. Syed Madan Shah insisted more than once on what he had said but finding Shuja-ud-Doulah adamant preferred silence. Khan Mohd. Khan used some harsh words on which the Nawab Vizir sternly scolded him and then returned to his seraglio in great excitement. The Rohilla representatives returned disappointed and narrated what had passed between them and the Nawab Vizir. Hafiz-ul-Mulk thought it expedient not to insist on the return of the bond and to drop the matter for the present. He suppressed his real feelings and waited for new developments.

Beides the innate ingratitude of Shuja-ud-Doulah the other reason which led him to break his promise concerning the return of the bond was that he had run into heavy debt to the East India Company by defaulting payments for expenses on the maintenance of the British force for the protection of his territory. This debt could only be liquidated by refusing to return the bond and thus to realise rupees forty lakhs from

Hafiz-ul-Mulk according to the treaty of 1772. This fact is proved by a letter which he wrote to the British Governor-General in reply to the latter's demand for the payment of the stipulated amount. He mentioned in this letter that he stood by the word he had given to the General to the effect that when the Marathas were driven off and Hafiz Rahmat Khan had paid the stipulated sum of Rs. 40,00,000, he would remit half of the amount to the British.

If however the Rohillas went back upon their pledge and the British, as a retaliatary measure brought about their extirpation and made over their possessions to the Nawab he would remit fifty lakhs of rupees to them.[1]

To a man of Hastings, great avarice an offer of 50,000 was too much to be ignored. He forth-with despatched a long letter to the Nawab in which he lauded his plan, eulogised his statesmanship and suggested that all these matters should be weighed and settled in a personal interview at Calcutta.

1. Fifth report of the Committee of Secrecy.

Chapter XXXII

Formidable Conspiracy against Hafiz-ul-Mulk—Decline of the Rohilla Dominion.

1. Treaty of Banaras. 2. Shuja-ud-Dowlah occupies Etawah. 3. Muzaffar Jang, Zabita Khan and the emperor betray Hafizulmulk. 4. Treachery of the Rohilla Sardars. 5. Peace efforts of Hafizulmulk. 6. An important letter despatched to the Governor General Warren-Hastings. 7. Diwan Pahar Singh's sympathy.

1. Treaty of Banaras. In July 1773, Hastings left Calcutta and met Shuja-ud-Doulah on the 19th August at Banaras. Hastings had two objects in view in undertaking this journey. The first was to sell Kora and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-Doulah and the second was to make a bargain with him for the conquest of Rohilkhand. The first bargain was struck on the following terms:—

"Whereas according to the treaty concluded at Allahabad on the 16th of August, 1765, between the Vizir and the Company, the districts of Kora and Allahabad were given to His Majesty for his expenses and whereas His Majesty has abandoned the possession of the foresaid districts, and even given a *sanad* for Kora and Shahabad to the Marathas, to the great prejudice of the interests both of the Vizir and the English Company and contrary to the object of the said treaty and hath thereby forfeited his right to the said districts, which have reverted to the Company

from whom he received it, it is, therefore, agreed that the aforesaid districts shall be put into the possession of the Vizir on the following conditions:—

The Vizir shall pay to the Company fifty lakh rupees in Oudh currency in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—

In ready money ..	.. 20,00,000
In two annual instalments of Rs. 15,00,000 each	.. 30,00,000
Total	.. 50,00,000[1]

Whether or not Mr. Hastings had the right to dispose of imperial possessions in this way and realise fifty lakhs of rupees from Shuja-ud-Dowlah is a controversial issue on which the greatest statesman and orator of England, Mr. Burk, in one of his famous and historic speeches in the Parliament, said,

"The first potentate sold by the Company for money was the great Mughul, a descendant of Tamerlane. This high personage, as high as human veneration can look at, was, by every account, very popular and respected for his amiable manners and accomplishments in all the oriental literature. All this and the fact that it was by virtue of the title derived under his charter that we hold all possessions in India, could not keep us from selling him out. Money is coined in his name, in his name justice is administered,

1. Hastings and the Rohilla War (Author).

he is prayed for in every temple through the country we possess; but he was sold...Two districts, Kora and Allahabad out of his immense grants, were reserved as a royal demesne to the donor of a kingdom, and the rightful sovereign of so many nations, but after withholding the tribute of Rs. 26,00,000 a year, which the Company was bound by the charter they had received from this prince, under the most solemn obligation, to pay, these districts were sold to his minister, Shuja-ud-Doulah, and what may appear to some the worst part of the transaction, these two districts were sold for scarcely two years. The descendant of Tamerlane now stands in need almost of the common necessaries of life and in this situation we do not even allow him, as bounty, the smallest portion of what we owe him in justice."

This criticism by Burk is irrefutable. But Mr. Hastings' anxiety for money was also understandable, because the Company at that time was in debt to the tune of Rs. 1,25,00,000. When Hastings left Calcutta, there were less than fifty thousand rupees in the treasury and the Government had vainly attempted to raise a loan, while the directors at home were pressing their demands for remittances[1].

After settling the affairs of Kora and Allahabad and making an agreement on the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees by Shuja-ud-Doulah, the talk between Hastings and Shuja-ud-Doulah turned upon Rohilkhand. A good deal of discussion followed, as a

1. Hastings and the Rohilla War. p. 91.

result of which a treaty was signed between them containing, *inter alia*, the following arrangements:—

"Whereas the Rohilla chiefs, in the month of June, 1772, entered into a treaty with the Vizir, in the presence, and with the concurrence, of General Sir Robert Barker, by which they agreed to pay him forty lakhs of rupees for his assistance against the Marathas and which treaty they have treacherously broken; it is, therefore, agreed that a Brigade of a Company's forces shall join the Vizir and assist him in punishing them, and that he shall pay the whole of its expenses. By a Brigade is meant two battalions of Europeans, one company of artillery and six battalions of sepoys. The expenses are settled at Rupees 2,10,000 per month. The Company's troops shall not cross the Ganges, nor march beyond the foot of the hills. The Vizir shall retain as his own that part of the Rohilla country which lies to the north-east of the Ganges, but in consideration of the Company's relinquishing all claim to share in the said country although it is to be conquered by their joint forces, the Vizir engages to make them an acknowledgment of forty lakhs of rupees. . . .[1]"

Shuja-ud-Doulah signed the treaty about Kora, Allahabad and Rohilkhand, but he soon realised that he had walked into a trap of financial involvement from which it would be well-nigh impossible to extricate himself. When he thought of the heavy financial liabilities which he had incurred, he realised that he would not be able to meet it by the financial gain expected to accrue from the conquest of Rohilkhand.

1 Fifth report (45) Forests selection Vol. p. 150.

It appears that he revealed his inward embarrassment to Warren Hastings in a personal conversation in which they discussed the subject in detail, as a casual entry in the Governor General's diary shows.

"He (Shuja-ud-Doulah) asked if he should compromise for the forty lakhs due by the Rohillas by treaty. I advised him to take out what he could and not give up a rupee. Whatever deficiency there should be in their payment, would serve as a fair pretence for any future designs he might form against them."

This reply silenced Shuja-ud-Doulah who had now no other alternative except to wage war against the Rohillas. He was only given some more time to prepare for the war. Warren Hastings left for Calcutta in October, 1773, pocketing twenty lakhs of rupees cash down with a promise of further payment of rupees sixty-five lakhs.

2. Shuja-ud-Doulah occupies Etawah.

While Hastings and Shuja-ud-Doulah were finalising their hostile plans against Hafiz-ul-Mulk at Banaras, the latter was trying to strengthen and reform his government. In order to augment his revenue he resolved to reconquer Etawah and annex it to his dominion. The time was propitious because the assassination of the Peshwa Narain Rao had involved the Marathas in a destructive civil war and their forces in Northern India had been summoned to the Deccan. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was about to undertake the occupation of Etawah when Shuja-ud-Doulah got information of his designs.

1 'Hastings and the Rohilla War (author).

He flared up with rage and in this state of mind he wrote a letter to his friend, Mr. Hastings, saying, "I have learned that Hafiz Rahmat Khan and other Rohilla chiefs had intention of taking possession of Etawah and the rest of the country belonging to the Marathas..I, therefore, write to inform you that if such be their intention, I will not put up with it but shall undoubtedly undertake an expedition against them. For, in the first place, they have not paid a single *dirham* out of the forty lakhs of rupees agreed upon formerly, while, in next, they are now going to take possession of another country. This is what I can never put up with, and, therefore, am determined to punish them."

On receiving this report Warren Hastings sent a British officer with a few heavy guns to Lucknow. With this reinforcement Shuja-ud-Dowlah forestalled Hafiz-ul-Mulk in attacking Etawah, and after a brief engagement with the Marathas he occupied Etawah and other districts in the Doab.

3. Defaction of Muzaffar Jang, Zabita Khan and the emperor.

From Etawah, Shuja-ud-Doulah arrived at the capital of the late Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash, a staunch friend of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. Ahmad Khan's eldest son, Muzaffar Jang, whom Hafiz-ul-Mulk had placed on the throne of Farrukhabad, was thoroughly opposed to his father in manliness and nobility of spirit. He was extremely coward, faithless and feeble-hearted. As soon as Shuja-ud-Doulah entered Farrukhabad, he was so frightened as to

1. Fifth report Forrest's selections.

disavow Hafiz-ul-Mulk and agreed to pay to Shuja-ud-Doulah four lakh and fifty thousand rupees annually as tribute. He even abjured his religion and adopted Shia faith to please the Nawab Vizir.

Having reduced Muzaffar Jang to complete vassalage, Shuja-ud-Doulah turned to Zabita Khan who was believed to be trying to renew his alliance with Hafiz-ul-Mulk, after the Marathas had left for the Deccan. Zabita Khan was notorious for his treacherous dealings and lack of integrity. He completely ignored the fact that Hafiz-ul-Mulk had incurred the liability of forty lakhs of rupees to the Marathas on his account, and that it was for standing his surety for the payment of the amount that he had brought on his head the displeasure of the Nawab Vizir who was now intent upon the total destruction of Rohilkhand and its ruler, Hafiz-ul-Mulk. He felt no scruple in joining Shuja-ud-Doulah against his benefactor, Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

Securing Zabita Khan's pledge of assistance in his contemplated invasion of Rohilkhand, Shuja-ud-Doulah deemed it proper to obtain the consent of Shah Alam as well. With this end in view, he opened negotiations with the Prime Minister, Najaf Khan, and to gain the goodwill of the Emperor, he helped the imperial troops in their fight against the Jats for the recovery of Agra. Consequently the Emperor gave permission for the conquest of Rohilkhand to Shuja-ud-Doulah on the latter's false promise that half of the territory of Rohilkhand would be made over to the Emperor of Delhi, after it had been set free from the Rohilla usurpation.

4. Treachery of the Rohilla Sardars.

While Muzaffar Jang, Zabita Khan, Shah Alam and the British, all were thirsting for Rohilla blood, Hafiz-ul-Mulk found that there was none among the rulers of Northern India left to stand by his side in the catastrophe which hung over his head. To make the matters worse, Hafiz-ul-Mulk had none of his brave and tried generals and commanders who had served him so loyally and so fearlessly in his campaigns, to stand beside him at this critical juncture. Inayat Khan, Dundey Khan, Shaikh Kabir, Bakhshi Sardar Khan, Fateh Khan, Khansaman, and a host of other intrepid and courageous Risaldars had been snatched away from him by the cruel hand of death. But the aged, forlorn and bitterly disappointed Rohilla Sardar was not ready to bend before his enemy. Shuja-ud-Doulah himself had a great fear of his adversary's desperate courage and firm determination, which he had experienced in many an expedition. He did not consider himself a match to Hafiz-ul-Mulk, though in low cunning and trickery he far excelled him. For him to face Hafiz-ul-Mulk was as dangerous as to beard a lion in his own den. Hence Shuja-ud-Doulah, to further weaken the Rohilla solidarity adopted means to sow the seed of dissension and discord in the camp of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. This was the weapon which had brought the Mughal Empire of Delhi to complete ruination. Siraj-ud-Doulah and Mir Kasim had fallen victims to the same strategy of mutual disaffection. Now, Hafiz-ul-Mulk and after some time Tipu Sultan were to follow suit. But the ruler of Oudh had kindled a fire by which he himself was, later on, consumed. The same mentors who had trained him in

this dangerous strategy were destined to deprive his successors of the fruits of victory when the time came to benefit from them.

Shuja-ud-Doulah employed a multitude of emissaries, who by working upon the hopes and fears of the Rohillas, fomented among them mutual jealousy and distrust. At their instigation most of the pretty Rohilla Sardars and greedy people got ready to desert Hafiz-ul-Mulk and join Shuja-ud-Doulah for his domination on the ruins of their own sovereignty. For this purpose they made secret and open treasonable agreements with the Nawab Vizir. *The two sons of Dundey Khan, Mohibullah Khan and Fateh Ullah Khan* made a private understanding with Shuja-ud-Doulah and sent to him a copy of the Holy Quran, with their demands written on it, for being stamped by Shuja-ud-Doulah with his seal as an assurance of his protection. This he returned duly sealed, adding further that after the conquest of Rohilkhand they would be accorded more liberal treatment than they had demanded. Ahmad Khan son of Bakhshi Sardar Khan also made a treasonable bargain with Shuja-ud-Doulah and gave him a word that he would not side with Hafiz-ul-Mulk. A trustworthy Sardar Mohtashim Khan, who used to draw a large income and a big salary of rupees fifteen hundred per month went over to the side of Shuja-ud-Doulah. Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Shahjahanpur, strengthened his relations with the Nawab Vizir, on getting a written pledge from him for the security and protection of his own son-in-law, Iradat Khan, one of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's sons. Hafiz-ul-Mulk used to

get these alarming reports about his trusted Sardars' intrigues with his enemy, but did not interrogate them on their treasonable behaviour.

Peace efforts of Hafiz-ul-Mulk—an important letter despatched to Hastings.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk found that the crisis was raising its ugly head and he resolved to make all possible efforts to avert it. Hence an important letter was despatched to the Governor General Warren Hastings in which, after the usual compliments and expressing his desire for an interview, he proceeded:—

"The bonds of friendship and affection, and the mutual intercourse which have long subsisted and taken root between us and the English Sardars may not be unknown to you. Having heard of your fame I wish that a perfect harmony and concord be established and confirmed between us and I hope that you will have the same inclination on your part. It is from these motives and because of there being no disagreement between us, that I represent to you the following circumstances that you may have them in your mind at the time of discussion.

'Last year when Emperor and the Maratha Sardars were at variance with Nawab Zabita Khan and when after the Nawab's affairs were thrown into confusion, the Emperor and the Marathas crossed the Ganges to enter our possessions, the Rohilla Sardars, to seek protection for their women, fled to the skirts of the jungle. At this time the Vizir of the empire and General Barker arrived at Shahabad and sent

Captain Harper to me with a message to come and join them, in which they persisted with great perseverance. As our interests were identical, I, therefore, arranged an interview with the gentlemen, when an agreement was concluded between us in which I agreed to pay forty lakhs of rupees on account of *peshkush* to the king, and the Maratha sardars and the gentlemen, on their part, engaged to effect my security by-establishing peace between me, the king and Maratha sardars, declaring that they would, in a day or two after that, march from Shahabad, to fall upon and come to extremities with the Marathas and to put an end to their operations. Notwithstanding this, the gentlemen never came to any negotiations with the Marathas, so as to put an end to their operations, nor ventured to attack them, but finally returned towards Faizabad, leaving their engagements unfulfilled. When the rainy season commenced the Marathas, of themselves, crossed the Ganges and encamped in the Doab, threatening me still with hostilities. During the rains, I repeatedly called on the Nabob, the General and Captain Harper, to conclude these affairs with His Majesty and the Marathas, but they came to no determination on the subject, nor took any measures for effecting security. When the rainy season was drawing to an end, and the Marathas had approached near the banks of the Ganges, they then demanded of me sums of money, which after much temporising I was at last obliged to pay them. Afterwards they went to the Emperor and procured a *Sanad* for Kora and Allahabad with which they returned to the banks of the Ganges and made preparations of bridges for

crossing it, and at the same time, sent a person of their confidence to demand payment of money which had been stipulated, saying it belonged to them and the king, and also, with many inducements requested that I would let them pass through my territories and assuring me that they would commit no depredations or ravages on the *ryots*, and they would pass through, with expedition towards the Suba of Oudh, or wither-so-ever they thought proper. They also engaged to remit me a large sum on account of the stipulation and to do whatever was agreeable and would give satisfaction to the Rohilla Sardars. At this juncture the Nawab and the General having arrived near, sent to me Syed Shah Madan and Mohd. Mukarram Khan, desiring that I do not enter into terms with the Marathas and they would give me back my engagement for forty lakhs of rupees and do every thing both for my present and future security. Having, therefore, in view, the long friendship which had subsisted between the Nawab Vizir and the English gentlemen and myself, I declined all offers made by the Marathas and came over to them, in revenge for which, it is well known that the Marathas recrossed the Ganges and plundered Moradabad and Sambhal. The gentlemen promised that they would cross and continue on the other side of the Ganges during the rains, and would return to Faizabad and Calcutta until they had entirely driven away the Marathas and fully satisfied themselves both with respects to their own and my security. But at length they left every thing unfinished, and after temporising for a long time with the Marathas returned to their own homes, leaving me still a prey to the

Marathas. You are, not doubt, acquainted with all these proceedings. It is a point which requires justice and consideration. As friendship has long been established between us, I doubt not but you will at all times and on all occasions wish to preserve it." But Hastings did neither grant a personal interview to Hafiz-ul-Mulk nor did he countenance his efforts for an amicable settlement. On the other hand, he expedited arrangements for invading Rohilkhand. When on the 3rd Feb., 1774, Shuja-ud-Dowlah informed him of his intention to invade Rohilkhand at once, he, in total disregard of moral consideration of right and wrong and out of his eagerness to grab a sum of forty lakhs of rupees, despatched a British force under Col. Champion to Oudh.

Despairing of Hastings' attitude and hearing the report of the arrival of a brigade under Col. Champion on the border of Oudh, Hafiz-ul-mulk wrote a letter to Col. Champion which runs as follows:—

"Last year, when the Marathas advanced to the bank of the Ganges and the Nawab Vizir, General Barker and you came here, I declined all alliance with the Marathas and respecting my former connections with the said Nawab, I kept aloof from friendship with them, as is clearly known to you. Tuckoo Hulker, Maratha chief consequently crossed the Ganges and penetrated into this country. The Nawab Vizir and general advised that I should advance to oppose him, in which case the Nawab's army was to assist me. It, however, joined me not. I opposed the enemy with all possible expedition and obliged them to recross the river with

1. Hastings and the Rohilla war (author).

shame and ignominy. After this, the Nawab and the general invited me to them. I joined them and the Nawab having proposed to cross the Ganges and intimate so to me, I was ready to accompany them across. Thank God! in the particulars of amity and fidelity I have never been deficient, which you are perfectly sensible of. When I obtained an interview with the Nawab Vizir at Shahabad and concluded an alliance with him, the General observed, "Performance of this duty will be regarded by both of us". In this space, nothing has proceeded from me contrary to these friendly agreements, yet has the Nawab Vizir imbibed enmity. As you have come in lieu of the General, Sir, I am extremely happy and write to tell you so. I hope to be favoured with your agreeable letters, the conferers of pleasure[1]".

Col. Champion was a noble-hearted, kindly disposed and justice-loving man and he had sympathy with the Rohillas and their leader Hafiz-ul-Mulk. But he had no power to render him any help in this matter because he was incharge of military affairs alone. Hastings had sent another English-man named Middleton, as the Resident with the army to deal with political and diplomatic questions. Still Col. Champion had the good sense and grace to send a reply to Hafiz-ul-Mulk advising him as a friend to comply with all the demands of Shuja-ud Doulah. Hafiz-ul-Mulk on the advice of Col. Champion requested him to ascertain in clear terms, what the demands of the Nawab Vizir were. In reply he received the following letter from Col. Champion :—,

1. Hastings and the Rohilla war. (author).

"The Nawab's pleasure is this that for having afforded the Rohilla tribe aid and assistance for three years, the sum of two crores of rupees has been expended. You also know what the Nawab's expenses have been and his pleasure I have now written. If you think proper, write to me distinctly what your ability is...If I receive not your answer today, I shall advance towards you with army tomorrow".

Knowing of the un reasonable and unjust demand of two crores of rupees, instead of forty lakhs, Hafiz-ul-Mulk concluded that any attempt to ensure peace was futile. Moreover, the British and the Oudh forces had begun pouring into Rohilkhand. He, therefore, began preparing for the war. But he did not cease carrying on negotiations with the British Commander in the hope that at any opportune moment the matter might end with the payment of forty lakhs of rupees. He also informed the Col. that the Rohilla sardars would hold a consultation next day among themselves and he would send him his final reply thereafter. The next day Hafiz-ul-Mulk summoned all the Rohilla sardars big and small, to the fort in Bareilly and asked their opinion. Fatehullah Khan and other sons of Dundey Khan; Faizullah Khan and other Afghan chiefs assembled. Hafiz-ul-Mulk addressed them as follows:— "Shuja-ud-Doulah, who has disciplined his troops and mounted his artillery in the frenghi (European) manner, and who, besides, is supported by the British power, intends to attack us, and occupy our country. We are not in a position to withstand the attack. It seems advisable to avert so great an evil by paying without

delay the money promised. Otherwise we lose our honour if we face the British artillery. Your families will come to grief, you will have to flee the battle-field and will lose your reputation for valour.[1]" This speech produced no affect upon the Rohilla sardars, because a majority of them had sold themselves to the Nawab Vizir and were at heart longing for the humiliation and disgrace of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. They refused to pay their share of the amount for which Hafiz-ul-Mulk had furnished guarantee on their behalf. Instead, they outwardly made a show of their eagerness for waging war and refusing submission to the demand of the Nawab Vizir. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was greatly mortified at their attitude and thought within himself that his last moment had arrived and it was not possible to turn away from death. He got ready to sip the cup of martyrdom for which he had always expressed a great desire. He announced that he would march from Bareilly to face the enemy in the battle-field.

6. Dewan Paharsingh's Sympathy.

The Dewan of Rohilkhand named Pahar Singh could not restrain himself any longer after the speech of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and declared with great courage that the infidelity of the people of Kather is self evident and it would be of little avail to expect the army to fight without faithful commanders. If ordered, he would collect the sum to be sent to Col. Champion from where-ever it was possible to do and that it was advisable that peace should be concluded as advised by Col. Champion. Hafizulmulk who had been touched to the quick by the treachery and faithlessness of his

1. Gul-i-Rahmat (author)

sardars, relations and slaves told him that he would prefer honourable death in defence of his country to begging or extorting money from the people, or seeking favour of the Nawab Vizir for peace. 'Such an honourable end I would most welcome.'

The Dewan reiterated that he would not go a-begging for that amount to the people nor would he stoop to court the Nawab Vizir's favour. On the other hand he would get the amount from Rai Nehrchand, and would subsequently arrange its repayment by borrowing from Sahukars. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk, instead of appreciating the request of Paharsingh, showed his irritation at it, which explains his embitterment at the disloyal attitude of his men to the extent that drove him to the extremity of sacrificing his life at the altar of duty. He spoke to the sardars, "whoever desires to follow me remain with me. Others have full liberty to leave me. I have no fear of enemies' military superiority and the inferiority of my followers. If I am not followed by a single man, even then I will not turn my back in fighting with the Nawab Vizir".

Simultaneously he drafted a letter to Shuja-ud Doulah which is regarded as a unique specimen of eloquence, perspicacity and a masterpiece of literature. The following is the text of this letter :—

"If your views conform with peace, may God bless you! and if they conform with war and fighting, I begin with the name of God.

Brave men never turn their face from any one.
Here is field, here is game, and here is the ball[1]".

1. Gulistan-i Rahmat (author).

CHAPTER XXXIII

Hafiz-ul-Mulk proceeds to the battle-field

Hafiz-ul-Mulk with his sons, a few loyal chiefs and a small army sallied forth from the fort of Bareilly and proceeded to Aonla, where first of all he went to the mausoleum of Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan to offer prayers for his soul and then set up his camp at the vast plain facing the mausoleum. Hearing the report of his arrival a large number of persons from Aonla came out to join the Rohilla army. In their presence Hafiz-ul-Mulk unfurled the standard of holy war and delivered a stirring speech which created unbounded enthusiasm among his followers who offered themselves to make any sacrifice for the vindication of the honour and dignity of their ruler and for preserving the independence and solidarity of their country. The masses of Rohilkhand were still firm in their attachment to their ruler and their loyalty had not been tempered with. It was but natural, because masses are usually free from designs of treachery to their country and the nation.

During his stay at Aonla Hafiz-ul-Mulk found that people coming from Mau, Farrukhabad and other towns of Rohilkhand, in large number, offered themselves for the service of their ruler. Even the Rajput Zamindars for whose security and comfort Hafiz-ul-Mulk had always shown great concern and who lived in perfect immunity and peace under his paternal rule

vied with each other in showing their readiness to serve under Rohilla colours. The intriguers and hypocrites, too, for fear of taunts and obloquy from their comrades and kinsmen began to enlist in the army. When Hafiz-ul-Mulk got the information of Shuja-ud-Doulah crossing the Ganges at Mehdi Ghat and invading Rohilkhand from the side of Shahabad, he started from Aonla and reached the village Tanda. Here he received a petition from Mohibullah Khan representing that due to their salaries having fallen in arrear for a few months his soldiers have betaken themselves home. If money be sent for disbursement among them, he would be able to join the Rohilla leader at the head of a large number of followers. Hafiz-ul-Mulk knew that it was merely an excuse for extorting money, yet he was large hearted enough to send fifteen thousand rupees. Similarly he remitted ten thousand rupees to Mohammad Yar Khan, son of Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan. Many other Afghan Sardars were also provided with financial assistance in spite of his own financial stringency. Its outcome was that the strength of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's army rose to twentyfive thousand. Now he crossed the Ganges and entered Faridpur. Shuja-ud-Doulah accompanied by Col. Champion and followed by Zabita Khan and Muzaffar Jang approached Shahjehanpur. Abdullah Khan, in total disregard of his relationship with, and obligation to, Hafiz-ul-Mulk, received the Nawab Vizir with open arms. Shuja-ud-Doulah was greatly afraid of the war-like Pathans of Shahjehanpur who numbered about twentyfive thousands. He, therefore, used all the means he could

think of, to win Abdullah Khan's cooperation and succeeded in securing his alliance. He joined with his followers and guided him in his march against Hafiz Rahmat to Tilhar.

Hearing the report of Shuja-ud-Doulah's march from Shahjehanpur to Tilhar, Hafiz Rahmat Khan advanced on Katra Miranpur, separated from the military camp of Nawab Vizir by the intervening dense mango groves spread for about 12 miles. They set to making preparations for the battle. After an interval of three days Shuja-ud-Doulah on the advice of Col. Champion, who was an expert military strategist, left for Pilibhit and halted in an extensive plain at Mausli. Hafiz-ul-Mulk followed to intercept his advance on Pilibhit, where Rohilla families had been left and encamped at Mausli on the twenty-second April, 1774 and barred the enemy's advance on Pilibhit.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk seemed to have forebodings of his impending martyrdom which so absorbed him that he lost interest in military affairs and strategy. It was Friday when his chief attendant requested him to take bath and change dress for prayer. Hafiz-ul-Mulk replied, "God willing, tomorrow I shall have both". The attendant mentioned this unusual change in his master's demeanour to his sons, who in the company of Nawab Faizullah Khan, Mustaqim Khan and Abdul Jabbar Khan went to him but could not dare speak to him, having observed extraordinary and awe... inspiring expression on his face. But they managed to

muster up courage to ask his permission to gain some time by starting irregular raids against the enemy under the cover of entrenchments, so that their forces might receive additional strength by the arrival of new recruits who had been pouring in daily in large numbers from Rohilkhand. Hafiz-ul-Mulk retorted that to hesitate in fighting, while the enemy was seeking early engagement is repugnant to his sense of honour. The outcome of the battle does not depend upon the numerical strength, but upon the will of God. Keeping the people in the midst of the eddies of death was far from manliness and prudence.[1]

1. In all important works on Hafiz Rahmat it is related that the same day a Darwesh came to his presence and said, "My spiritual preceptor lives near this place. He has sent me to you to deliver this message, 'at a time of starting for India I prophesied the conquest of Rohilkhand. My prophecy has been fulfilled. Now I again say that there is for you a chance between victory and martyrdom. You can choose one of them, so that prayer to vouch-safe it be offered to God!' Hafiz-ul-Mulk said to the Darwesh, 'If I prefer victory now, will I still have the blessing of martyrdom later on?' The Darwesh replied in the negative. Hafizulmulk hesitated for an instant, then said, 'I was thinking of my sons who are still raw and inexperienced. But I give priority to martyrdom ; hence I surrender the affairs of my children to God and prefer death.' The Darwesh said, 'Don't worry on this point. Your people will not be in trouble for more than one and a half year and concerning your enemy—the day he gets to Pilibhit and sets up his camp on the bank of Deoha around the trees of Sainbhal, the same day the messenger of death will accost him! The Darwesh went away leaving Hafiz-ul-Mulk in a state of reverie. (Gulistan-e-Rahmat, Gul-e-Rahmat, Tarikh-i-Sulemani, Akhbar-e-Hasan). (Author).

Chapter XXXIV

Battle of Katra Miranpur—Martyrdom of Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

1. Arrangement of enemy forces. 2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's premonition. 3. Battle of Miranpur Katra 1774. 4. The dead body of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. 5. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's burial. 6. Hafiz - ul - Mulk's mausoleum.

When Hafiz-ul-Mulk on emerging from the gardens of Katra Miranpur pitched his tent on a level ground, Shuja-ud-Doulah and Col. Champion who were a little dismayed by the influx of the Afghans and Rajputs from every part of the country did not consider it wise to postpone the battle any longer. Hafiz-ul-Mulk had an army of forty thousand men under his command.[1]

1. Arrangement of enemy forces.

On 3rd. April, 1774, Shuja-ud-Doulah beat drums of battle and at dawn his entire army was marshalled in the battle field. The British force under Col. Champion with a park of artillery was placed in the front.

Shuja-ud-Doulah himself in company with Zabita Khan and Muzaffar Jang had taken up his position with a huge army in the rear of the vanguard. Having arrayed his forces in proper order, Shuja-ud-Doulah advanced towards the Rohilla levies in a very imposing manner.

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1. According to British historians and generals the Rohilla army was twenty thousand only.

2. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's premonition.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had passed the whole night in prayer, and, in the morning, when he received the news of Shuja-ud-Doulah's movement for battle, he was busy saying his usual daily prayers. When the sun had risen he set in a palanquin and went to the tent of Faizullah Khan and said, 'My end is near, so long as I remain alive, do not turn away from the field but when I fall, beware! do not press for the battle, but leave the field straightaway and flee with my children and dependants to the hills. This is the best course for you to take and if you act upon my advice, it will be better for you....' [1]

3. Battle of Miranpur Katra 1774.

After giving these directions, he mounted his horse and marched against the enemy at the head of ten thousand horse and foot. The remaining force also advanced to engage the enemy in battle. The vanguard of the enemy appeared and opened gun fire. To silence the enemy guns Mohammed Mustaqeem Khan with his three thousand followers made a furious attack upon the British forces and rushing past the artillery men and musketeers, he tried to engage the British in a hand to hand fight. But the British forces stood firm and did not allow the Rohilla horsemen to break hrough their rank. Mustaqeem Khan fought like a hero and received several wounds. His fearlessness and desperate courage inspired other chiefs also. Nawab Faizullah Khan attacked the right wing of the British army and forced the enemy to fall back.

1. Gul-i-Rahmat, Elliot, Volume VIII, page 312.

In the meantime, Hafiz-ul-Mulk joined the battle with his ten thousand men and came directly under the blasting fire of the British artillery. Ahmad Khan, son of Bakhshi Sardar Khan, who had made a secret agreement with Shuja-ud-Doulah fell back, causing great confusion and took to flight. Many of Hafiz's own men, without ascertaining the facts left the field in great panic with the result that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was left with only four or five hundred soldiers. Mustaqeem Khan and Faizullah Khan, too, were so hard pressed that their followers took to flight, leaving only a few faithful persons standing by their side. Hafiz-ul-Mulk had only about fifty supporters left with whom he faced the English and the Oudh army. The English recognised him by his umbrella of which spies had given a description and a cannon-shot was levelled againt him. He advanced at the head of his companions while cannon balls fell all around. One of them struck him on the breast. He was lifted off his horse, and after taking a sip or two of water, he drank the cup of martyrdom.

Hafiz Rahmat Khan's death has been variously described by different chroniclers. An eye witness named Raja Bils Rai, son of Raja Man Rai has been quoted by historians as saying that a shell passed by Hafiz-ul-Mulk touching the skin of his body and leaving a black mark. The author of Qaiser-ul-Tawarikh says that Hafiz-ul-Mulk fell from the horse with the impact of the shell. In another description of the circumstances of his death, it is mentioned that he remained in the saddle though his grip on the

rein was loosened. He also raised his hand to hold the turban on his head. His attendants held back the horse from gallopping towards the enemy lines, took him off the horse back, laid him on the ground and the end came soon after.

Nawab Faizullah Khan and other Afghan leaders, hearing of the death of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, gave up fighting and left for their respective estates. The enemy pursued the Afghans over a long distance and Shuja-ud-Doulah ordered his men to plunder the camp equipage of the Rohillas, which yielded immense booty.

4. The dead body of Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

The dead body of Hafiz-ul-Mulk was recognised by a man named Sultan Khan who had once served the late Afghan leader. He cut off the head and brought it before Shuja-ud-Doulah, bragging as if he had worsted him in a single combat with him. Shuja-ud-Doulah gave him a handsome reward. The face was covered with dust, but it is related that his eyes had not lost their lustre and the face still retained its freshness. Shuja-ud-Doulah was greatly touched by this sight and spoke with mingled feelings of fear and compassion "God knows, I had never longed for such an evil day for you[1]". Just at this moment his brother-in-law Salar Jang came to him and offered congratulation. This in an instant completely changed his feelings and Shuja-ud-Doulah suddenly steeled his heart and all traces of sympathy and compassion disappeared from his face. He exclaimed, "God be praised! I have today

1. Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh.

avenged the arrogance of this nation towards my father and other Muslims[1]". In a spirit of vindictive glee he ordered the head of the late Hafiz-ul-Mulk to be shown to Zabita Khan, Muzaffar Jang and Shah Madan. Muzaffar Jang exclaimed, 'This is no doubt, Hafiz Rahmat's head and none else's'! Zabita said in derisive tone, 'With this bearded appearance he had dared fight against His Majesty Shuja-ud-Doulah,'! Each of the Nawabs gave five hundred rupees to Sultan Khan by way of reward..[2].

When the head was brought before Syed Madan he burst into tears and said, "Aye, it is that Muslim's head!" and recited a couplet in praise of the deceased hero.

Shuja-ud-Doulah was highly annoyed at the frankness and truth-telling of Shah Madan. But he suppressed his feelings for the time. When he, later on, entered Bisauli, he ordered that the propery of the Syed valued at one lakh of rupees be confiscated. The Syed himself was thrown into prison where he was subjected to inhuman brutality, which shortened his life in the prison.[3]

5. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's burial.

The headless trunk of Hafiz-ul-Mulk was also brought from the battle field to Shuja-ud-Doulah's camp. The head and the body were stitched together and sent to Bareilly, where the news of the defeat of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and the victory of Shuja-ud-Doulah had already been received. The people in great confusion and panic were fleeing

1. Qaiser-ut-Tawarikh. 2. Akhbar-us-Sanadeed.
3. Tarikh-i-Sulemani.



Mausoleum of Hafiz Rahmat Khan (Bareilly)

with their children wherever they could. When the dead body was brought, the entire population of the city gathered around it and joined the funeral prayer. The universal mourning and lamentation on this occasion demonstrated to what extent the late ruler of Bareilly was held in public esteem and love. In the afternoon he was buried outside the city in the garden of Khan Mohammad Khan. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was sixtyseven at the time of his death.

6. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Mausoleum.

In 1775, Rao Pahar Singh began the construction of a mausoleum over his tomb, but he died before it was completed. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's son, Nawab Zulfiqar Khan, completed it in 1780. In 1819, by the order of Lord Moira a big dome a mosque and a high gateway were built and boundary wall was also constructed round the mausoleum surrounding an area of about five thousand sq. yards. In 1840 a daughter of Hafiz-ul-Mulk undertook the repair of the mausoleum and the buildings connected with it and she got a gold pinnacle set over the dome. Mr. Thompson had also started repair a little before the mutiny of 1857 broke out, but after the mutiny no attempt was made to save the building from the ravages of time. At present the mausoleum with the exception of the dome is fast crumbling. The Archaeological department of the Government of India, on earnest representations, took only the dome under its supervision, but it has received little attention or care from the department. There was a time when the mausoleum presented a very pleasant and delightful sight to the onlookers and every year it

was whitewashed. On the death anniversary of Hafiz-ul-Mulk there used to be held many a religious observance in the presence of large gatherings. A small school was also attached to it. But at present it is lying in a completely neglected and dilapidated condition.

CHAPTER XXXV

Extermination of Rohillas after the death of Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

1. Faizullah Khan with Rohilla Sardars retires to 'Laldang.'
2. Shuja-ud-Doulah's entry into Pilibhit. 3. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's family subjected to oppression. 4. Siege of Laldang and peace with Nawab Faizullah Khan.

After the death of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and the complete rout of the Rohillas, Shuja-ud-Doulah and Col. Champion stayed at the scene of the battle to prepare for thorough reduction of Rohilkhand. They sent detachments of their army in different directions for this purpose. One squadron of horsemen occupied Bareilly while other detachments were told off to other districts and villages which were brought under subjugation. These expeditions, accompanied by orgies of bloodshed, plunder and arson, shook the entire Rohilla territory to its foundation. More than one thousand villages were destroyed by fire and innumerable buildings were razed to the ground. The well-known historian Mill says, "The whole country lay at the mercy of the Vizir and never before probably were the rights of conquests put to such barbarous use. Not only were inhuman depredations let loose upon the wretched inhabitants, but, as the intention of the Vizir, according to what he had previously and repeatedly declared to the English Government, was to eterminate the Rohillas, every one who bore the name

of Rohilla was either butchered or found his safety in flight and exile" [1].

Col. Champion did not approve of these execrable atrocities. But he was helpless in the face of orders issued by Shuja-ud-Doulah and Hastings. Col. Champion has expressed his feelings in these words, "The inhumanity and dishonour with which the late proprietors of this country and their families have been used is known all over these parts, a narration of them would swell this letter. I could not help compassionating on such unparrelled misery and my requests to the Vizir to show lenity were frequent, but as fruitless as were those advices which I almost hourly gave him against the destruction of the villages. About a lac of people have deserted their abodes in consequence of the defeat of Hafiz [2] ".

1. Faizullah Khan with Rohillah retires to Sardars "Laldang."

Among those who found safety in exile were many big Rohilla sardars including Nawab Faizullah Khan, who took their families and children, their equipage and also a considerable part of the vanquished army to a secure place called Laldang at a distance of sixteen miles from Najibabad in the midst of dense forests of *Tarai* outside Rohilkhand. They made it their place of shelter and defence.

2. Shuja-ud-Doulah's entry into Pilibhit Hafiz-ul-Mulk's family subjected to oppression.

Nawab Mohabbat Khan and other sons of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, in total disregard of the dying words of their father,

1. Mills History of India. Vol. V, Chapter I. 2. *Ibid.*

and notwithstanding their knowledge of the evil designs and cruel intentions of Shuja-ud-Doulah and his British allies, did not leave Bareilly and Pilibhit. On the contrary, they set about to cultivate good relations with the Nawab Wazir in the fond hope that the latter would be satisfied with the submission of the Rohillas and would not subject them to humiliation and ignominy. With this hope Nawab Zulfiqar Khan and Mohabbat Khan set out from Bareilly and Pilibhit respectively in the company of Shah Abdul Fatah to meet Shuja-ud-Doulah, without any invitation or permission from him. Shuja-ud-Doulah was pleased at their unexpected appearance and treated them with considerable outward condescension. He said to them, "It was not my intention to wage war and I did not wish its outcome to be this. But the counsellors of the late Hafiz-ul-Mulk stood in the way of our mutual settlement. Since the will of God must be done, you should now have no fear. I will accord you a treatment that will make you forget the death of your father." Shuja-ud-Doulah took a solemn oath to keep his words and desired *khila'ts* to be given to both of them. Mohabbat Khan requested that if it was intended to raise their dignity, it would be proper to bestow the robes of honour when the Nawab Wazir entered Pilibhit, so that all persons might shed fear by observing the Nawab Wazir's favours. Shuja-ud-Doulah accepted the invitation to visit Pilibhit and permitting Mohabbat Khan to go back home, he said, "Console and assure all your servants and retainers and the slaves of your late father; but take care not to let any

person quit the town; I will reach there the day after tomorrow and invest you with robes of honour". Mohabbat Khan was permitted to depart but Zulfiqar Khan was asked to stay with him. Shuja-ud-Doulah then sent an order to his abyssinian slave, Shidi Bashir, who was encamped near Pilibhit, to detain Mohabbat Khan in his camp for the night on one plea or the other, and to accompany him next morning to Pilibhit and to station picket at the gates of the city, so that no body could move out of the town.

Shidi Bashir besieged Pilibhit on the 26th April, 1774. Those who had already left the town found themselves safe, but those who had preferred staying in the city on he basis of the assurances of security given by the sons of Hafiz-ul-Mulk were all taken prisoners. Shuja-ud-Doulah, Col. Champion and Mr. Middleton with their forces arrived at Pilibhit on the 28th April, and encamped at the bank of the river Deoha. Proclamations were issued demanding the surrender of all arms and horses by men-in-arms to the officers of Shuja-ud-Doulah. The people were required to declare their cash and valuables, which they did. It was followed by the capture of all notable and suspicious persons; while the rest were ordered to quit the city with their families in a destitute condition. Those who showed the least hesitation were butchered without any regard to human feelings. The town was then given up to plunder, in which many persons lost their lives. Shuja-ud-Doulah, then, sent an order to Mohabbat Khan to divulge the hidden treasure of his

father. Mohabbat Khan now realised his folly and sent the following reply, "We have no wealth except the memory of our father-what to say of hidden treasures! Some luggage and ornaments of the ladies are still with us which you can take." Shuja-ud-Doulah, thereupon, ordered him to vacate the place and repair to his camp with the entire family, leaving all belongings and ornaments there. Accordingly Nawab Mohabbat Khan with his mother, sisters, brothers and other relations came out of the place leaving behind every thing except the clothes they wore. They were provided accommodation in a tent surrounded on all sides by horsemen under the command of Basant Ali Khan. Soon after, Mohabbat Khan received a message from Shuja-ud-Doulah that he wanted to give the promised robe of honour to him, but he had been suffering since last night from a carbuncle which was causing him severe pain. This had prevented him from fulfilling his promise which he would do as soon as his condition improved.

After securing the capture of the family of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, Shuja-ud-Doulah ordered the whole-sale plunder of Pilibhit. In this plunder, according to Col. Champion, Shuja-ud-Doulah secured booty consisting of jewellery, ornaments, elephants, horses, camels and heaps of other valuables, valuing at fifty lakhs of rupees at the lowest computation. Shuja-ud-Doulah appropriated all the wealth himself and did not allow the British troops to share it. The British army protested against the attitude of Shuja-ud-Doulah and demanded half of the booty as their legitimate share

On Shuja-ud-Doulah's refusal to comply with this demand, the English soldiers helped themselves freely with the property belonging to some of the officials of Oudh. The situation was getting out of hand and Shuja-ud-Doulah had to pay ten lakhs of rupees to appease the British army which was on the point of revolt.

Having completely stripped Pilibhit of wealth and bare necessities, Shuja-ud-Doulah struck his camp and started for Bisauli, the head quarters of the late Nawab Dundey Khan. With him were, besides Mohabbat Khan and his brother, the widow of Hafiz-ul-mulk, the widow of Inayat Khan and other ladies and children. They were all placed in the charge of Shidi Bashir. He made them walk on foot in the burning sun of May or occasionally made them sit in bullock carts. All the captives were tied with one another by ropes. Their dresses were torn to pieces and they were given nothing to satisfy their hunger and thirst. Not only that, but they had to suffer the derisive laughter and taunting remarks of the barbarous Abyssinians, whenever they begged of any one some thing to eat or drink. Col. Champion tried his best to secure relief for the victims of Shuja-ud-Doulah's vindictiveness; but he failed to soften his heart. The Col. was forced to appraise Waren Hastings of the plight of these helpless captives and wrote to him the following letter:—

"I am with all my heart disposed to believe that the Board never suspected that their orders could have

such consequences as have come out. They could not have foreseen so sudden and so total expulsion and downfall of a race of people; they could not have supposed that a man exalted and supported by British arms, could pay so very little deference to the advice and counsels of a British Commander, nor was it possible to conceive that a man, who had himself tasted bitterest fruits of misfortune, should be so totally unmindful of the unbounded and unparallelled grace shown to him, as to take delight in denying a single ray of benevolence to others. I know that the Nawab, as the agent of oppression, is alone culpable. But whilst all Asia knows that the English gave him the rod, will they not reasonably conclude that the scourages brought about by their agent are being connived at? I did not mean or say that Hafiz's family should be freed from Shuja-ud-Doulah's hand. I only mean that pressure should be brought to bear on the Nawab to make provision for them in some degree suitable to their birth. They themselves proposed that any or as many of the sons as the Nawab pleased should remain in his hands and prayed him not to dishonour the Begum and other women by dragging them about the country, to be loaded with the scoffs of his rabble and otherwise still worse used.... [1]".

In another letter Col. Champion wrote to Warren Hastings "These unhappy captives being driven to the necessity of supplicating and receiving alms from myself and gentlemen of my family to purchase sustenance, their begging for water to drink, their struggle to be

1. Fifth Report-Hastings and the Rohilla War.

first served with it are scenes, too horrible to be expressed [1].

Col. Champion also forwarded a letter of the Begum of Hafiz-ul-Mulk to Hastings in which the distressed widow narrated her plight in these words:—

"Hafiz Rahmat Khan governed this country and the very beasts of the forest trembled at his bravery. The will of God is resistless. He is slain, and with his children not an atom remains but they are cast from their habitations, naked, exposed to the winds, the heat and the burning sand, are perishing from want of even rice and water. How shall I either write or speak my condition? My sighs dry my ink and scorch my paper... yesterday I was mistress of a hundred thousand people. Today I am in want even of a cup of water and where I commanded yesterday I am a prisoner today. Fortune is fickle, she raises the humble and lowers the exalted, but I am innocent, and if anyone is guilty it is Hafiz. But why should the children be punished for the errors of their father? I am being taken like a beast in a snare, without a resting-place by night or shade by day. From you, Sir, I hope justice and compassion, for I am as a bird confined in a cage; it is better to give up life by the dagger than famish thus by hunger and thirst. You, I hope, Sir! will reflect on my state, or my misfortune will be doubled. I am nothing left. Pardon for this paper [2]".

1. Fifth Report—Hastings and the Rohillas.
2. Fifth Repot—'Hastings and the Rohillas.

How far the pathetic appeals of Col. Champion and the heart-rending supplications of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's widow pierced the callous heart of Warren Hastings and other British officers is evident from the latter's reply, in which he dismissed Col. Champion's appeal as of no import.

Sir John Morley has mentioned in his work that when the facts of oppression and torture, inflicted upon the Rohilla captives were related to Hastings, he expressed with great self-satisfaction that such trifles always happen in oriental warfare.

3. Siege of Laldang and peace with Nawab Faizullah Khan.

After a continuous march of several weeks, the British and Qudh forces passed through Bareilly and Aonla and arrived at Bisauli. The plunder and ravages of towns falling on their way were perpeterated in a thorough and systematic manner. Even those who had deserted Hafiz-ul-Mulk and joined the Nawab Wazir in the hope of handsome rewards from him for their treachery were not spared. At Bisauli, Fatehullah Khan and Mohibullah Khan, sons of Nawab Dundey Khan, relying on his words came to Shuja-ud-Doulah and requested for the fulfilment of the solemn promise made in writing on the leaves of the holy Quran. But Shuja-ud-Doulah had them imprisoned and all their property which they had accumulated through many years was taken away from them. Here Shuja-ud-Doulah received the report that the Afghans were rallying at Laldang under the banner of Faizullah Khan and that their strength

was increasing daily. But Shuja-ud-Doulah was suffering from the intense pain of carbuncle and he desired to get back home as early as possible. He despatched all the captive members of the family of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and Dundey Khan with many other distinguished captives to Allahabad under the supervision of Salarjang, to be kept in the fort there as prisoners. Thus relieved of all anxiety about the prisoners, he marched with haste towards Laldang taking the British army with him.

Nawab Faizullah Khan had collected a strong body of the Afghans at Laldang. The sons and relatives of the well-known sardars of Hafiz-ul-Mulk had joined this Rohilla force. In the absence of any son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk in the camp at Laldang, they had acknowledged Faizullah Khan as his successor and made preparations for a defensive war against the Nawab Wazir. Laldang was an ideal place for this purpose. It was situated in the midst of dense forests and impeneterable hills. Shuja-ud-Doulah's army spent about four months in clearing the forests. Yet the Afghan force was a mile off. The Afghans were determined to fight to the last with their back to the wall and readily sacrificed their lives in fighting with the persons who were clearing the woods. Shuja-ud-Doulah was driven to despair particularly because it was causing him unbearable pain. The rains had set in, causing the spread of disease in his army. The alarming reports of the impending Marhattas invasion were being received continuously. Worst of all, the cost of keeping a British army along

with his own was an unbearable drain upon his financial resources. Under such adverse circumstances, Shuja-ud-Doulah's zeal against the Rohillas cooled down and he thought it wise to make peace with them. He tried to win over Nawab Faizullah Khan and Mustaqim Khan by holding out promises of Jagirs and other exalted positions to them. But as they had lost confidence in Shuja-ud-Doulah's promises none was taken in by his profuse assurances. Mustaqim Khan sent a reply to the Nawab Wazir suggesting that Hafiz-ul-Mulk's family was to be set at liberty and restored to honour before the Afghans might think of laying down arms. Otherwise they would carry on the struggle as long as they were alive. But Nawab Faizullah Khan was not in a position to give such a curt refusal because the Nawab Wazir in his letter had offered him a temptation that if the Nawab surrendered, his old Jagir with addition of more territory would be restored to him. But in case of a refusal, he would send for Mohabbat Khan from Allahabad and install him. In that case it was certain that all the military officers of his father's time now with him would desert him and leave him alone[1]. Simultaneously he wrote to Allahabad for sending Mohabbat Khan immediately to his camp. Mohabbat Khan was accordingly freed to proceed to Laldang.

In these circumstances Nawab Faizullah Khan could not refuse the offer of peace. He, however, did not put faith in Shuja-ud-Doulah's words but

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.

preferred to deal with Col. Champion to whom he wrote :—

"If I am placed in possession of the whole of Rohilkhand, I will pay to the Company eighty lakhs of rupees in three years or if it were preferred, will pay that sum to the Wazir under a guarantee from the English of the Wazir's good faith and place my son in the hands of the English as a hostage, until the money was paid. As an alternative arrangement, I offer to pay thirty lakhs of rupees, annually, to the Wazir and to give the Company twenty-five lakhs, if they will influence the Nawab to put me in possession of the country and guarantee the treaty [1] ". He also offered to have fifteen thousand men ready to join the English and Wazir on all occasions.

Col. Champion warmly appreciated these proposals and strongly recommended them to Shuja-ud-Doulah and Hastings, but they rejected them because in that case the extermination of the brave and virile Rohilla nation would not be completely effected. After a good deal of negotiation and exchange of views, Nawab Faizullah Khan agreed to meet Shuja-ud-Doulah through the good offices of Col. Champion. Mohd. Mustaqim Khan also desired to accompany him to the camp of the British to see Shuja-ud-Doulah, but Faizullah Khan advised him to remain with the troops. Mustaqim Khan pressed Nawab Faizullah Khan to use his influence for the release of the family of Hafiz-ul-Mulk from

(1) Hastings and the Rohilla War.

captivity and the restoration of their lands to them. Faizullah Khan made a solemn promise to do his level best to help the distressed captives. Faizullah Khan first met Col. Champion and was then conducted to the camp of Shuja-ud-Doulah, who was suffering miserably from carbuncle. The latter agreed to settle the district of Rampur yielding an income of twentyfive lakhs of rupees on Nawab Faizullah Khan[1]. The Nawab was to maintain a force not exceeding five thousand men and he would help the Nawab Wazir at the time of need with three thousand men. The remaining Afghan soldiers, who then numbered more than twenty thousand, were to be sent away to the other side of the Ganges. Nawab Faizullah Khan agreed to pay fifteen lakhs of rupees in cash to Shuja-ud-Doulah[2]. Col. Champion gave a hint to Faizullah Khan to arrive at some settlement with the Nawab Wazir concerning the families of Hafiz-ul-Mulk,so that it might be recorded in the treaty. But Nawab Faizullah Khan in order to please Shuja-ud-Doulah, left the matter to his will[3]. The Nawab Wazir then lost no time in putting his seal on the treaty and handing it over to Faizullah Khan. Thus on the 7th October, 1774 came into being the well-known state of Rampur in northern India. Returning to Laldang with the treaty, Faizullah Khan reported to Mustaqim Khan that Shuja-ud-Doulah could not be prevailed upon to release Hafiz-ul-Mulk's

(1) 'Gul-e-Rahmat'.

(2) Hastings and the Rohilla War.

(3) Gul-e-Rahmat.

survivors for the present and that he thought it proper not to let his personal matters drift any more [1].

Shuja-ud-Doulah with Col. Champion returned to Faizabad while Faizullah Khan, taking five thousand Afghans with him, set off for Rampur. The remaining twenty thousand Rohillas and their Sardars were driven, like cattle, out of the boundary of Rohilkhand. They wandered about in utter destitution; some of them enlisted themselves in the service of Zabita Khan and his son, Abdul Qadir Rohilla, while a large number settled in Tonk and Bhopal.

On his return, Shuja-ud-Doulah met Mohabbat Khan, son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, near Sambhal, while the latter was being conducted to the Nawab Wazir from Allahabad. He was included among the retinue of Shuja-ud-Doulah who promised to settle his affairs on reaching Faizabad. But when he got there he put off his promise on the ground of his own serious illness. He, however, fixed a monthly allowance of one thousand rupees for him and permitted him to send for his wife and children only. He also promised to put one thousand horsemen under his personal command. But Mohabbat Khan's sense of honour and self respect did not permit him to leave his mother, sisters, brothers and other kinsmen in custody and get his wife and children freed. He preferred joining his brother, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, who was already in detention in Shuja-ud-Doulah's camp.

1. Gul-e-Rahmat.

A'LI'S SWORD ON INDIAN MEDAL



SILVER MEDAL

Struck in 1774 to commemorate Rohilla defeat by the English and Oudh army, this old silver medal takes us back to the days of warren Hastings. The Persian inscription on the obverse reads :—

"Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah, Nawab Vazir of Hindustan, on Saturday the 11th safar, 1188 (i.e. Saturday April 23, 1774) having beaten the Rohillas at Elahi Katrah killed Hafiz Rahmat Khan, their Commander"

Two swords are shown on the reverse, the blade of the horizontal one being broken in two by the hilt of the vertical one, thus graphically illustrating the power of the vertical sword. This sword, represents the well-known "Zulfiqar" the famous sword of Hazrat A'li.

Surrounding the swords is the inscription:

Verily we have bestowed upon thee a brilliant victory, with the result that the inhabitants of Hindustan are overjoyed in possessing such a country.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Shuja-ud-Doulah's Death

Shuja-ud-Doulah was in the grip of a fatal disease. When his recovery was despaired of, his mother came to his bed-side, wailing and crying piteously and implored him to set the Rohilla families at liberty for the sake of his recovery and assign them Jugirs and stipends. Stricken at heart Shuja-ud-Doulah with a deep sigh replied to her mother that as a safeguard against the outbreak of lawlessness and anarchy it was very expedient to keep the Afghans in fetters. "Moreover," he said, "If I release the Pathans at this moment, people will interprete my action as an outcome of fear of death, which is foreign to my sense of honour and courage. I know that carbuncle is a signal of my death". He then summoned his nobles to his presence and asked them to place after him his son Asif-ud-Doulah on the *gaddi*. He also advised them to maintain and preserve the friendly relations he had formed with the English and not to create hostility with them ; but they should not be allowed to acquire a footing in Oudh ; since it would be difficult to uproot them once they had planted themselves on the land. With these dying words, Shuja-ud-Doulah gave up his life on the 26th January, 1775, at the age of fortyfour after ruling for twenty-one years.

The author of Seir-ul-Mutakhirin, describing the death of Shuja-ud-Doulah says, " Shuja-ud-Doulah passed away from this world while he was still young and full of ambition. The prestige and glory which he acquired were not commensurate with what he aspired to, and he left this world overweighed with the burden of despair and unrealised longings. Though he possessed some virtues, yet he was guilty of some heinous crimes, in retaliation of which God Almighty did not vouch-safe him a longer span of life to enjoy the pleasures of wealth and property, to his heart's content. He betrayed Mir Qasim after giving him solemn words of protection on the sanctity of the holy Quran. On mere suspicion the pension holders of his kingdom whose number was legions were deprived, by a stroke of pen, of all stipends, the only means of livlihood. He confiscated their lands and fiefs, in consequence of which they were reduced to penury to such an extent that many of them, out of shame, shut themselves up behind closed doors and gave up their lives; while many others took the beggar's bowl in their hands and went from door to door begging for alms. Generally, he had no regard for the honour and dignity of his attendants and paid no attention to their solicitations. In erecting his palaces he got the buildings of many persons pulled down, burying their personal effects under the debris."

The author of Tarikh-i-Oudh writes, " The Rohillas were trampled under foot with great cruelty and heartlessness. Thousands of nobles, Ulema, Scholars,

Saints and hermits were reduced to starvation by the confiscation of their fiefs and thousands of them were subjected to torture in confinement. Their places of worship were desecreted and their women's chastity was outraged ; their villages were set on fire ; their children were hacked to pieces in the arms of their mothers. Hundreds of thousand were driven out of their habitations and after massacring them their bodies were left to be torn by vultures and ravens. In short Shuja-ud-Doulah treated the Rohillas with so much cruelty that the Divine retribution was moved to punish him. Thus those who had dipped their hands in the blood of the Rohillas had to witness the complete ruination of their sovereignty and rule. Moreover, the Real Avenger, God, showed perfect equality in taking revenge upon Shuja-ud-Doulah. Within a short period of five or six years the wife and the mother of Shuja-ud-Doulah were subjected to severe atrocities in order to pay with interest, so to say, for the excesses and brutalities perpetrated upon helpless Rohilla women."

Chapter XXXVII

British Writers' Comments on Warren Hasting's Attitude.

1. Mr. Burk's Speech in Parliament. 2. Lord Mecaulay.

Some sympathetic and honest British historians and politicians condemned in bitter terms the actions of the Governor General Warren Hastings who was the real provocator of the tyrannical Rohilla War. This is borne out by the following extracts.

1. Mr. Burk's Speech in Parliament.

"The next sale was that of the whole nation of the Rohillas, which the great salesman, without a pretence of quarrel, and contrary to his own declared sense of duty and rectitude, sold to the same Shuja-ud-Doulah. He sold the people to utter extirpation for £ 400,000. Faithfully was the bargain performed on our side. Hafiz Rahmat, the most eminent of their chiefs, one of the bravest men of his time, and as famous throughout the East for the elegance of his poetical compositions, as for his courage, was invaded with an army of a hundred thousand men and an English brigade. This man at the head of inferior forces was slain valiantly fighting for his country. His head was cut off and delivered for money to a barbarian. His wife and children, persons of that rank, were seen begging a handful of rice through the English camp. This whole nation, with inconsiderable exceptions, was slaughteed or banished. The country was laid waste with fire and

sword and that land, distinguished above most others by the cheerful face of paternal government and protected labour, the chosen seat of cultivation and plenty, is almost throughout a dreary desert, covered with rushes and briars and jungles full of wild beasts. The British officer who commanded in the delivery of the people thus sold like sheep to the butchers felt some compunction at his employment. He represented the enormous excesses to the President of Bengal, for which he received a severe reprimand from the civil governor." (Speech delivered on December 1st, 1783).

2. Lord Mecaulay.

"Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilkhand. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever and haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of men, to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance and their blood and the honour of their wives and daughters. Col. Champion remonstrated with the Nawab Wazir and sent strong representation to Fort William, but the governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself with nothing but his forty lakhs, and although he might disapprove of Shuja-ud-Doulah's want on barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the biographer. "Mr. Hastings", he says, "could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the

Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on." No, to be sure. Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Character and Organisation of Government.

1. Feudal Organisation of Rohilkhand. 2. Democratic Virtues of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's personal rule. 3. Organisation of Judiciary. 4. Agriculture and Commerce. 5. Buildings. 6. Patronage of learning and spread of education. 7. His character and Habits. 8. His daily life. 9. His regard for Women. 10. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Treatment of the Hindus. 11. His Munificance. 12. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's courage and heroism. 13. His learning and scholarship.

The Rohilla dominion in India was founded by Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan and Hafiz-ul-Mulk consolidated and developed it. It was one of many independent and semi-indpendent states that arose in India in the eighteenth century on the ruins of the Moghal empire of Delhi, Rohilkhand was the only state which maintained its unique character. Though Rohilkhand did not pay annual tribute to the figurehead emperors, yet its rulers strived hard to maintain friendly relation with the Central Government and never hesitated to rush to the help of the tottering empire, whenever it was beset with difficulties. If the intrigues and political machinations of Safdar Jang and Shuja-ud-Doulah had not out-manoeuvred Hafiz Rahmat and his Afghan nobles and had they not prevented them from expanding and consolidating the nascent dominion on solid basis, the Delhi empire and even the kingdom of Oudh, would not have so easily succumbed to the aggression and diplomatic pressure

of the foreigners. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muti-ullah writes in his unpublished "History of Shah-jahanpur ".

" The end of the Islamic state of the Rohillas was really sounded on the day of the death of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. The kingdom of Oudh was tottering and it took no time to fall prostrate. If Shuja-ud-Doulah had not used British guns for the extirpation of the Rohillas, the penetrating eyes of the Lord Dalhousie had not fallen on the map of Oudh and he would not have hastened to blot it out of existence."

1. Feudal Organisation of Rohilkhand.

The Rohilla State which the adversaries so heartlessly destroyed was organised on feudal and tribal basis, in which big Rohilla sardars enjoyed internal autonomy over a specified region ; but acknowledged the overlordship of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, whose own jagir extended over an expanse of land yielding an income of fifty lakhs of rupees every year The ramining districts of Rohilkhand were held by big fief-holders like Abdullah Khan of Shahjahanpur, Nawab Dundey Khan, Nawab Faizullah Khan, Fateh Khan Khansaman and Bakhshi Sardar Khan, besides many other Rohilla leaders. There was remarkable co-operation and unity of purpose among the Rohilla sardars at a time when the entire country was torn as under by mutual quarrels and internecine feuds. The Rohillas always rallied in thousands on the call of their leaders in emergency and if one of the leaders was threatened with danger, all others came to his help, ready to fight and die.

The laws governing the state of the Rohillas were admirable. There was no incident of theft, robbery or plunder in their dominion. If a person lost any thing every effort was made to recover it. In cities as well as in villages there were punchayats and guilds composed of the representatives of the people following different faiths and professions. Each panchayat was under a sarpanch or headman. These punchayats heard all criminal and revenue cases, produced judgments which had the force of law, and fixed the rate of bazar commodities. The government officials—amils, muftis and qazis — seldom dealt with cases affecting the members of a punchayat. Hafiz Rahmat scrupulously tried to preserve, even expand, the autonomy of these popular bodies. He treated the headmen or *choudharies* with becoming honour and encouraged them in carrying through the work, entrusted to them, with confidence.

2. Democratic virtues of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's personal rule.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's government, in keeping with the traditions and urges of the time, was, no doubt, an autocracy, but its method and tendencies were democratic in nature and spirit. The common people had full say in the business of the government and no high-placed government official, not even the occupant of the *gaddi*, had the right to persecute or maltreat an ordinary subject-Muslim or non-Muslim. The ruler and the ruled were not separated by a gulf of ' reserved privileges '. The principle of freedom, equality and fraternity was generally observed. An event in which his own son Hafiz Allahyar Khan was involved

illustrates to what extent the Hafiz was anxious to nurture the spirit of liberty among, and how implacable he was in doing justice to, the lowest of his lowly subjects.

One day Allahyar Khan on a hunting expedition sat in ambush for a deer. By chance a villageman interposed between him and the deer, which were scared away by his sudden appearance. Allahyar abused him and he returned him in the same coins. This led to an altercation between his followers and the villagers who had collected in a large number. The rustics ran away for life leaving their carts and wagons, which Allahyar's men took possession of and returned to Pilibhit with them.

Next day they approached Hafiz to seek redress of their grievances and compensation for their loss. Hafiz-ul-Mulk heard their complaints patiently, summoned his son and his attendants and asked them to state their case. It was found that the villagers had been guilty of committing excess against the prince and his party. But since the latter were the first to start the scuffle, the Hafiz ordered his son to return the carts and cattle, snatched from the poor people and make full compensation for any loss they might have suffered[1].

3. Organisation of Judiciary.

In the reign of Hafiz-ul-Mulk the rich and the poor, ruler and the ruled were equal before law. Justice was denied to

1. Gulistan-e-Rahmat.

none. The administration of justice was based upon *Shariat* (Islamic Law) which treated high and low alike. The offenders were not subjected to torture, and the government, even in the face of great provocation, did not take law into their own hands. Even those who made attempt on the life of Hafiz-ul-Mulk were dealt with in accordance with the common law and were let off with slight punishment.

One night, when Hafiz-ul-Mulk got up for prayer in the early hours of the morning and, as usual, went to the toilet, without awakening his servant, he found that a strongly-built man, with a dagger in his hand, was standing in front of him. Hafiz-ul-Mulk without shouting to any attendant for help, and though being unarmed himself, secured the intruder in his grip and handed him over to the guard outside. It was subsequently found out that the man had been deputed by some of his faithless sardars to murder him and he had stolen into the palace, secretly avoiding the watchmen on duty. Next day the miscreant was brought to the court. The Rohilla sardars as well as Diwan Pahar Singh vehemently demanded capital punishment for him, but Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not consent. They then requested Hafiz-ul-Mulk for permission to start investigation into the case in order to ascertain if there were other accomplices and abettors in this plot. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not agree to this even, lest innocent persons might be implicated by the accused and suffer for no fault of theirs. The accused was given in the charge of Sandal Khan, Kotwal of Bareilly, with orders that his comforts should be well looked after.

But Diwan Pahar Singh and other sardars forced Sandal Khan to deprive him of his eyesight. When Hafiz-ul-Mulk got intimation of it, he flewinto rage and ordered that Sandal Khan be subjected to the same torture which he had inflicted upon the helpless accused. It was with great difficulty that this order was rescinded. The man was given expert treatment for the restoration of his eyesight and was granted daily allowance of one rupee with meals from the royal kitchen.

4. Agriculture and Commerce.

In the reign of Hafiz-ul-Mulk the people throughout his domain enjoyed prosperity. They were engaged in trade and agriculture. The peasants were encouraged to bring barren lands under cultivation and were given loans in advances for this purpose. Trade was also thriving. In 1769 Hafiz-ul-Mulk abolished all duties on export and import in the teeth of opposition from sardars and government officials, who represented that the abolition of duties would entail a loss of several lakhs of rupees yearly. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was not only a clever politician but also an expert in economics. None of his contemporaries could stand comparison with him in the grasp of economic problems. He was a believer in the principle of free trade which he encouraged, with the result that in a short time Rohilkhand got extraordinary prosperity and economic advancement which benefited the state by increase in revenue and material prosperity. Mr. Franklin, who visited Bareilly in those days when it was the headquarters of Rohilkhand, declared that Bareilly had become a great centre

of trade on account of the farsighted men of Rahmat Khan.

5. Buildings.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk was very fond of buildings. He had set up a department of building and engaged a staff of high paid architects, both Indian and foreigner. In the days of his rise and prosperity Hafiz-ul-Mulk was responsible for building in every part of Rohilkhand forts, ramparts, palaces, inns, guest houses, bazars, gardens, roads, bridges, canals, ponds, schools, mosques and mausoleums. Many of these buildings are still in existence—some in ruined, others in good, condition at Bareilly, Aonla, Pilibhit, Badaun, etc. In Bareilly itself he had built Mubarak Mahal, Diwan-i-Am, Diwan-i-Khas and a fort. They were all destroyed by Shuja-ud-Doulah's order.

In Badaun a beautiful mosque, in the compound of which is the tomb of his father Shah Alam, is in existence even now. In Aonla, the beautiful mausoleum of Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan and in Pilibhit the most exquisite Jama' Masjid bear witness even today, to his interest and zeal for architecture.

The relatives and sardars of Hafiz-ul-Mulk also had built several palaces and mosques in his time. Several mosques in Aonla were built by the order of Bakhshi Sardar Khan and Fateh Khan Khansaman, the mosque in Bareilly built by Hafiz-ul-Mulk's sister and a fort, a mosque and a bath in Bisauli built by Nawab Dundey Khan, proclaim the glorious days of the Rohilla hegemony.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's main object in starting public works was mostly to provide relief to the poor and the destitute. In 1762, owing to a severe famine in Rajputana, a large number of *Marwaris* and *Mewatis* migrated to Rohilkhand to earn their livlihood. Hafiz-ul-Mulk at first fixed daily allowance for them, but when their number swelled enormously, he issued orders that they should be provided work in constructing a *katcha* defence wall round the town of Pilibhit. The wall was completed in 1763, but the poor persons still needed relief. So he ordered that the mud wall be demolished and a new one be built with stone and lime. It was completed in 1769. In consequence of this unparalleled generosity of Hafiz-ul-Mulk all the *Marwaris* and *Mewatis* who had been reduced to pauperism became rich and started their own business in Rohilkhand, where they settled down permanently.

There is an anecdote in connection with the building of the Jama' Masjid of Pilibhit which shows that Hafiz-ul-Mulk felt great scruples in causing any inconvenience to the poor or damaging their property. The absence of a mosque for Friday congregation was keenly felt by the Muslims. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was not slow to realise their feelings on this point. He discussed the question of constructing a Jama' Masjid with the officials of his Building Department and pressed that it should be located near his own palace. But there was no suitable open site near the palace, excepting a big lake called Sagar Tal. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was in favour of filling up this lake for building a mosque over it. His advisers represented to him that



Juma' Mosque, Pilibhit

converting the lake into a plot of land will involve enormous expenses and requested that the houses situated in the vicinity of the palace, which were the property of poor people, might be acquired and utilised for this purpose. Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not fall in with their views, though they assured him that the owners of hutments could be easily prevailed upon to vacate them in lieu of adequate compensation or alternative accommodation. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not believe that these poor people could be persuaded to part with their cherished homes and hearths without some sort of official pressure being put upon them, which, in his opinion, was contrary to the dictates of justice and fairness. His advisers had to agree and the work of filling up the lake was immediately taken in hand. When the time of laying the foundation of the building came, Hafiz-ul-Mulk invited religious leaders, holy persons, saints and qazis to witness the function. When they had assembled, he requested the audience that anyone among them who had never used his eye or hand or leg in committing any impious or irreligious deed should come forward to lay the first stone of the building. The audience were dumb-founded at this gesture of Hafiz-ul-Mulk and hung down their heads. Hafiz-ul-Mulk, after a slight hesitation, spoke " All praise is due to God that my humble self has never used my eye, or hand or leg as an instrument of impiety. Hence I feel compelled to lay the foundation stone of this abode of God with my hands. May God help me!" The construction work of the mosque started immediately

and took a long time to be completed after the design of the Juma Masjid of Delhi. A sum of three lakhs and odds was spent on this building. The only difference between the Juma Masjid of Pilibhit and that of Delhi is that the latter has been built on a raised terrace, while the former stands over a low ground. In the Juma Masjid of Delhi white and red stones have been used and the gates are very high and imposing. The Juma Masjid of Pilibhit has been built with small bricks and the gates are not so high. The Delhi mosque has splendid, high arch in froht, while Hafiz-ul-Mulk's mosque has a small arch.

6. Patronage of learning and spread of education.

In Hafiz-ul-Mulk's time, it has been said, there were five thousand scholars and learned men engaged in imparting education in government institutions as well as in private schools maintained in mosques. They recieved regular pay from government according to their educational qualifications. There was a board of men of learning, presided over by Hafiz-ul-Mulk himself, which prescribed syllabi of studies for educational institutions of various grades. The students were supplied books free of cost by the government. They were also provided with free meals and a stipend of one hundred rupees per year. When a student had completed his education, he was taken in a procession of scholars and students to the presence of Hafiz-ul-Mulk who entertained all of them to a grand banquet and tied a turban on the would-be scholar's head in recognition of his having attained proficiency in learning. He was enrolled among the

group of the *Ulama* and fixed salary was allotted to him.

That Hafiz-ul-Mulk took keen interest in the welfare of students and scholars, and missed no opportunity to render them help and encouragement is proved by a story that a senior student who was a monitor in his class demanded two thousand rupees from Hafiz-ul-Mulk to meet the expenses of the party of students under his charge. When he was permitted to draw this amount from the state treasury, he changed his mind and made another representation to enhance the amount to five thousand rupees. Hafiz-ul-Mulk objected to the revised demand, but the student persisted. Finding him dejected, Hafiz-ul-Mulk gave orders that the amount asked for may be paid to the student. He had great respect and regard for men of learning and used to pay visits to them at their houses to have the pleasure of talking to them. This attitude of Hafiz-ul-Mulk went a great way to encourage the spread of education among common people.

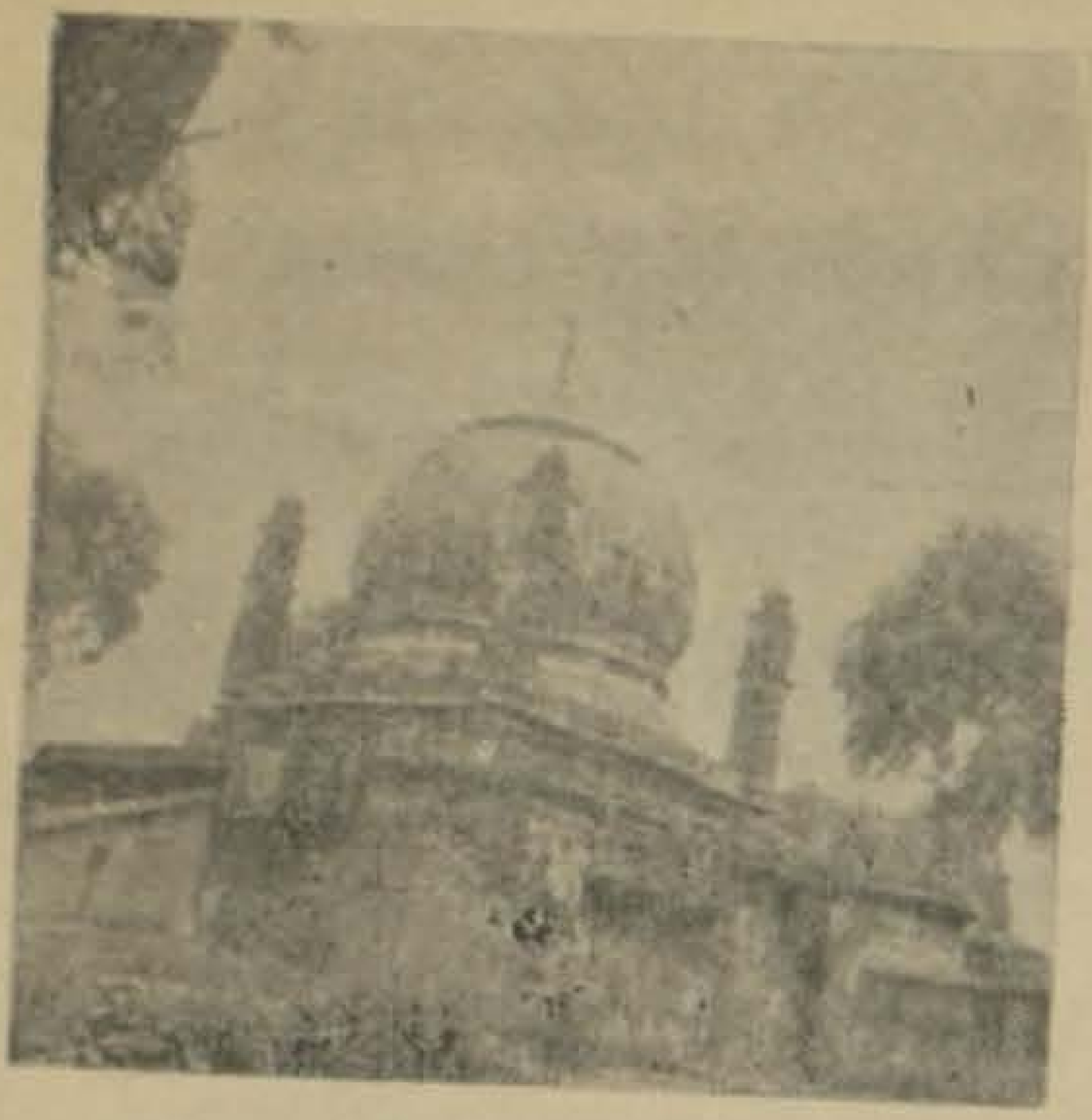
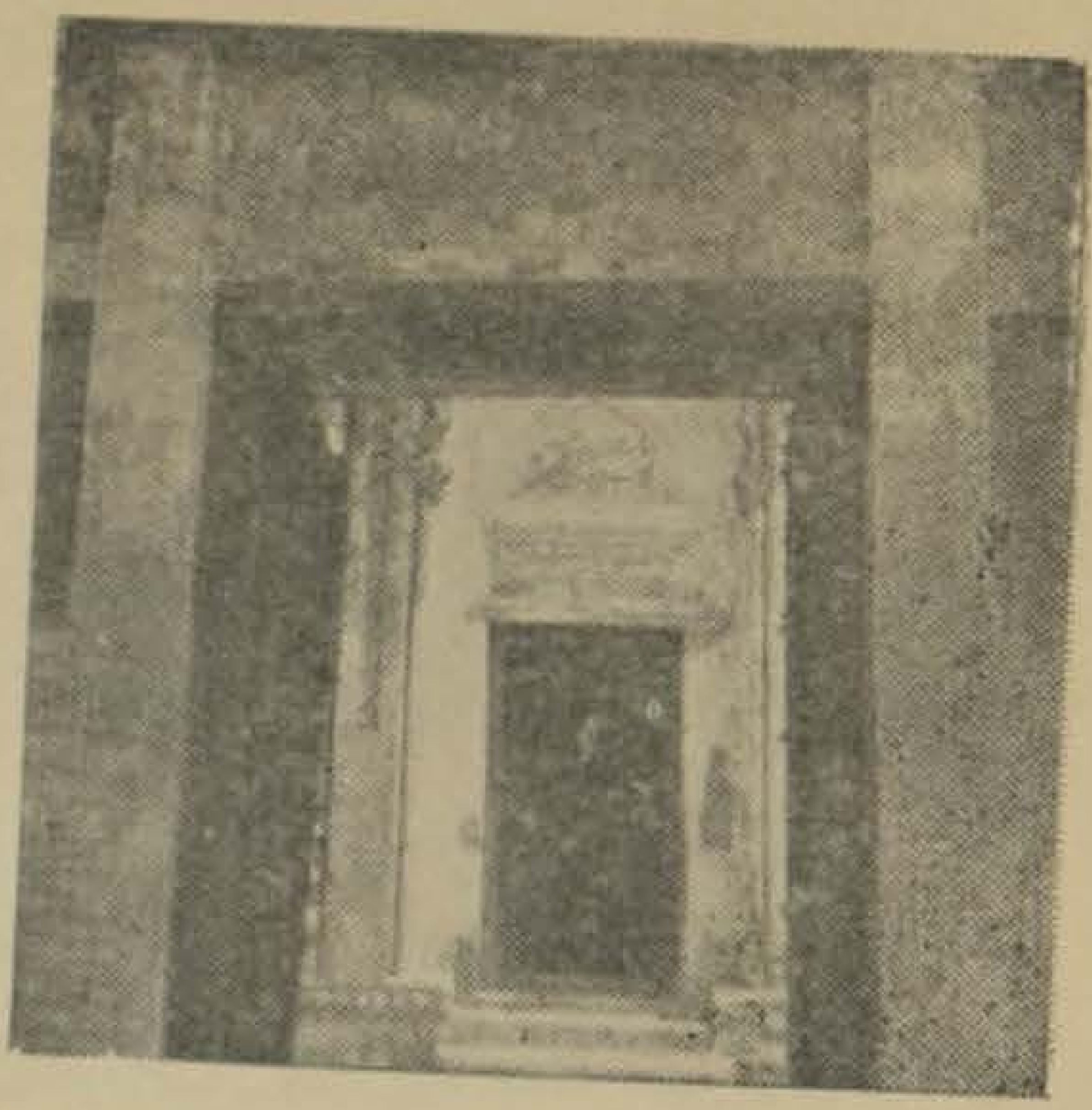
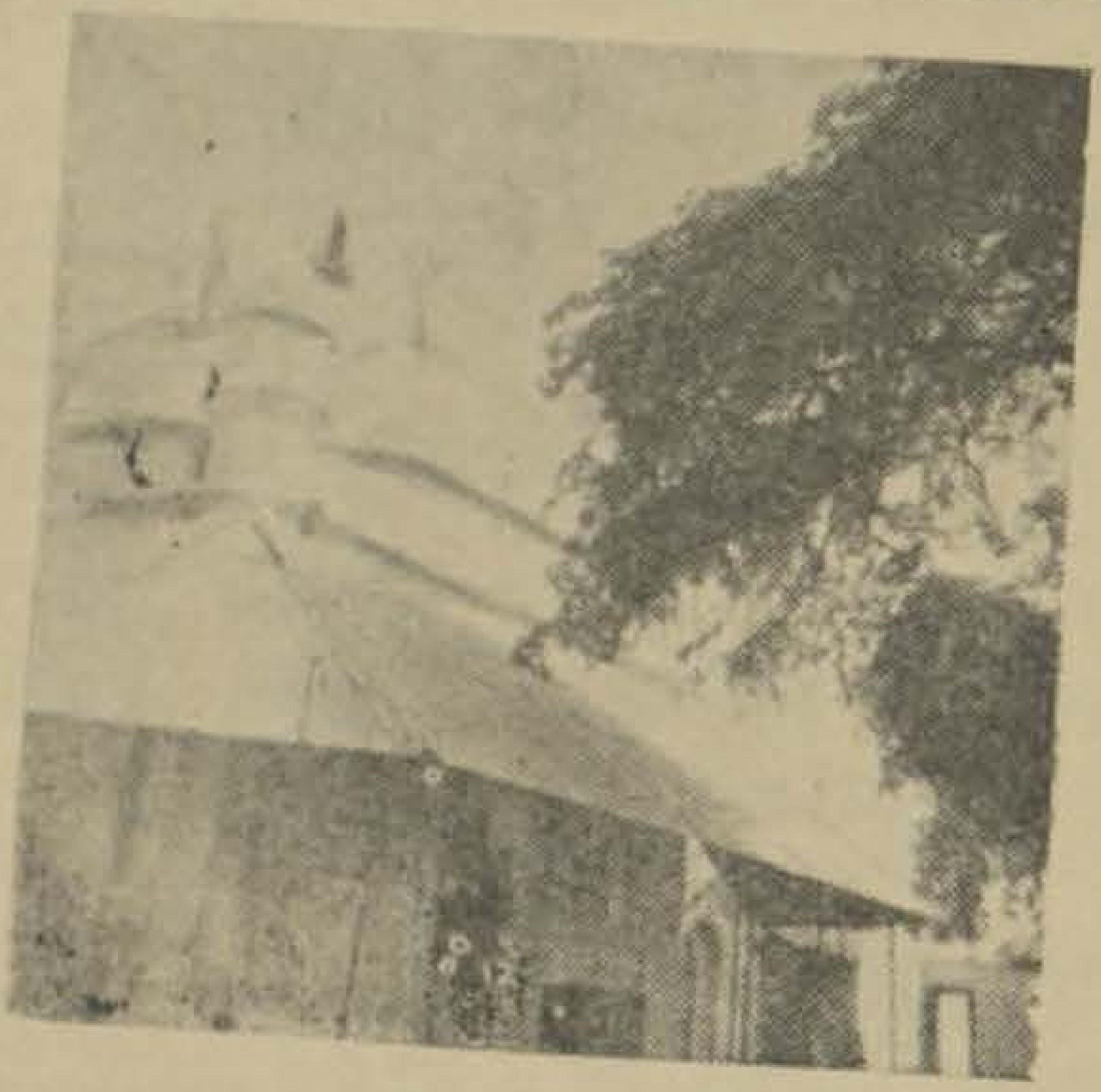
7. His Character and Habits.

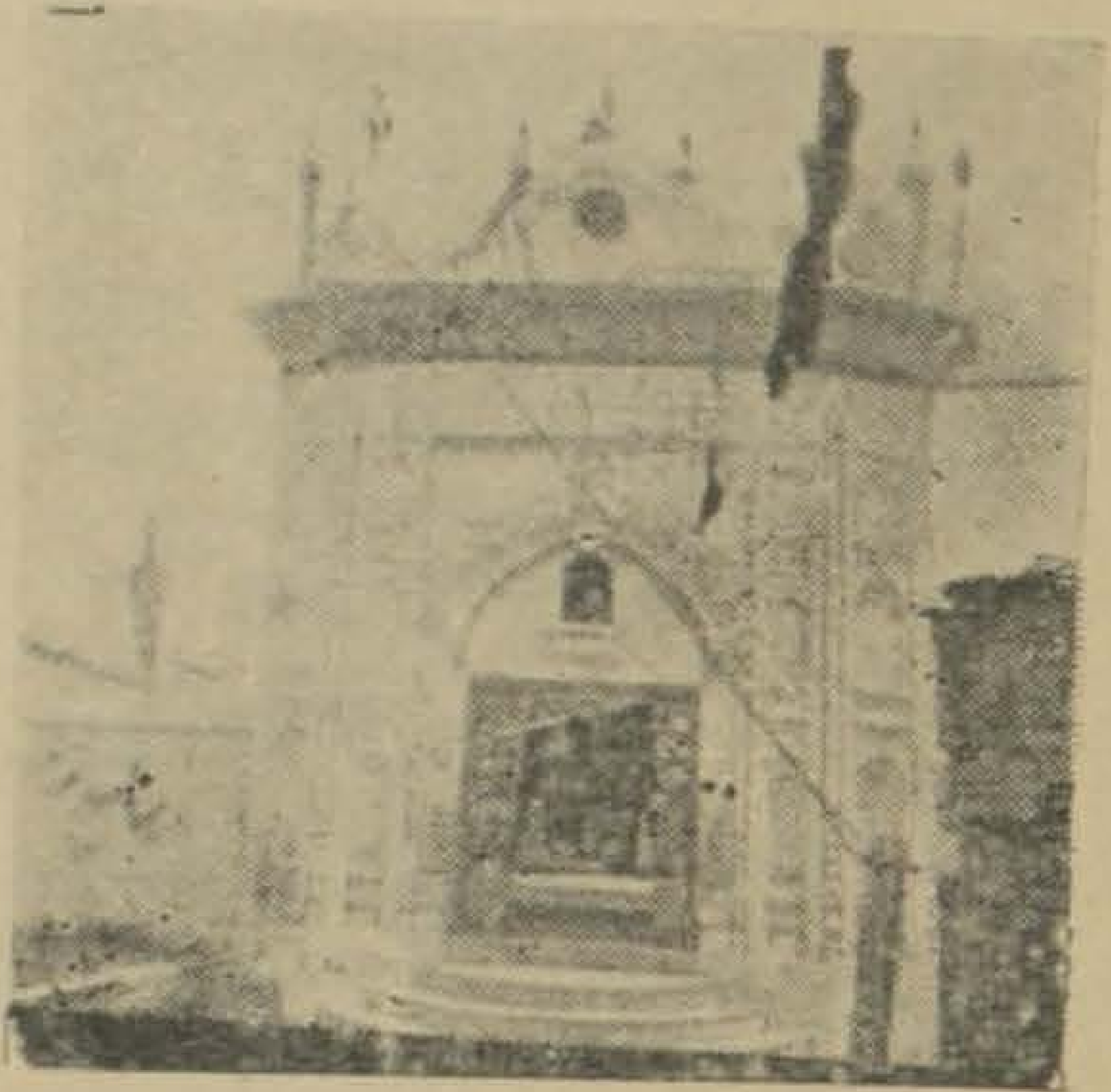
Hafiz-ul-Mulk led an exemplary life of piety and moral purity. He was averse to every kind of extravagant amusements. He was not addicted to intoxicating drugs and eschewel even smoking and betel chewing. He used to wear clothes of designs approved by religion. He hated to talk irresponsibly and did not utter abusive language. It was his wont to connive at people's shortcomings and to let them feel at rest. He was, in short, an embodiment of generosity, compassion,

and humility. He enjoyed reputation for justice, abstentious life, righteousness and veracity. None among his contemporary rulers could rise to the height which he had attained in diplomatic ingenuity, ripe wisdom, right action and decorum.

8. His daily life.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk was very punctilious in observing the rituals prescrbied by Islam. With the exception of mid-day prayer, which he offered, by himself, he said all his prayers in mosque congregation. He left his bed long before dawn to offer the *Tahajjud* and then recited the one-seventh part of the Holy Quran regularly till he heard the call to prayer in the mosque. Then he repaired to the mosque, where he spent considerable time in offering prayers and in contemplation. From there he went straight to the Darbar-i-Am to hear the submissions and representations of the supplicants and those who brought complaints and sought redress. Everyone had free access to his Darbar, the guards being strictly prohibited from checking any needy or distressed person to have the satisfaction of laying his case before his ruler. Some time later he held the Darbar-i-Khas in which he conducted the business of the state. This was followed by lunch inside the *harem*, or in the private chamber in the outer part of the palace. His sons and other relatives alway joined him on the table. After lunch he returned for a short sleep from which he got up after mid-day to say prayer, by himself. On Friday the made special preparations to join Friday congregation held in the Jama Masjid. Alms were distributed lavishly to



(1) Inner Gate of Mausoleum of Hafizulmulk
(2) The Mausoleum in 1963
(3) Mausoleum of Shah Dana Wali
(4) Gate of Juma' Mosque, Bareilly
(5) Inner Portion of Juma' Mosque, Bareilly

the vast number of beggars and needy persons, who collected at the gate of the mosques, by Hafiz-ul-Mulk himself.

When he happened to be in Pilibhit on Fridays he invariably visited the tomb of his mother after the Juma prayer. He spent the time between the ' Zohyr ' and ' Asr ' prayers in holding Darbar-i-Am after which he enjoyed the society of men of learning and piety. After evening prayer he again listened to discourses on important topics of religion, such as Hadith, Fiqah, Tafsir, etc. Having offered the night prayer, he sat for the dinner in the company of persons, renowned for their scholarly and theological and spiritual attainments, preferably belonging to the privileged class of Syeds. He used to work for eighteen hours, and allowed himself only six hours of rest in day and night.

The month of Ramzan was, as enjoined by Islam and emphasised by the Holy Prophet, devoted to fasting, continuous praying and reciting and listening to the Holy Quran. He offered the *Eid* prayers with common people, and held a darbar after returning from Eidgah, in which greetings were exchanged and gifts bestowed.

Similarly in the month of Muharram a general mourning was proclaimed ; music and playing of band was banned. Alms were distributed to the poor, and cooked food was served to thousands of needy persons, and Syeds were entertained with great hospitality.

The birthday of the Holy Prophet was celebrated, likewise, by holding huge gatherings in which speeches on the life and mission of the Holy Prophet were delivered, and food, sweets and charities were distributed on a lavish scale.

That Hafiz-ul-Mulk had unbounded regard for Syeds and felt special delight in rendering service to them and earning their special benediction is proved by the fact that many distinguished Syed families were drawn to Rohilkhand and made it their home. Hafiz-ul-Mulk lost no time in settling upon them pensions, rent-free jagirs and providing them with palatial buildings to live in. Of these Syeds, Ahmad Shah and his son Syed Masum Shah were held in highest esteem by Hafiz-ul-Mulk, who had enrolled himself among the latter's disciples. A few stories, showing Hafiz-ul-Mulk's devotion to Syeds have been mentioned in 'Tarikh-e-Sulaimani' :—

In an altercation that ensued between a respectable Syed Khawaja Husain and Nawab Hurmat Khan, a son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's the Syed got provoked by the behaviour of the youthful Nawab and stabbed him with a dagger. When the news was brought to Hafiz-ul-Mulk he asked impatiently :—

'Hurmat Khan is alive or died'!
'He is alive'! he was told.

Said Hafiz-ul-Mulk, 'God be thanked! I would have never demanded the..................of a

slave-born from a descendant of the Holy Prophet, if it had been otherwise !"

He never talked over it with the Syed, to whom he continued to pay the same respect.

The ' Gulistan-i-Rahmat ' mentions another case of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's fervent and dutiful attachment for Syeds. Two dacoits accused of robbery and murder were condemned to death.

When facing executioners' knife they shouted, ' We are Syeds !'. Hafiz-ul-Mulk at once stayed their execution and ordered that they be sent back to judicial lock-up for investigating their extraction. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was told that no true Syed can stoop to such mean and ignoble practice as robbery, that the miscreants were merely exploiting his well-known softness for Syeds to save their skin and therefore they should not be saved from death. But Hafiz-ul-Mulk did not listen to their advice. He treated the convicts with special favour in custody and succeeded in reclaiming them into law-abiding citizens.

' Gulistan-i-Rahmat ' gives another story of total remission of a large amount of revenue rent granted to Syeds solely on the ground of their holy lineage.

The other class of persons, who enjoyed special devotion and regard of Hafiz-ul-Mulk were saints, mystics, and pious persons living in retirement absorbed in divine contemplation. He took special pains to search such persons and draw them to his

side, and shower gifts upon them. If they refused to leave their hermitage to oblige a reigning prince he himself did not hesitate to attend upon them, whenever he could, and provide for their comforts.

Not content with this he made regular offerings, every year, to the shrines of celebrated priests, namely, Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti, Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Hazrat Sheikh Fariduddin Ganj Shakar, Pakpatan, and many others. This side of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's character was mainly responsible for the humanising aspect of his administration and his philanthropic proclivities.

9. His regard for women.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had special regard for the rights of women and took care to see that his courts did full justice to weaker sex in deciding cases affecting the relations of men and women. He did not hesitate to punish persons who maltreated women folk.

He opened schools in each locality exclusively for girls and gave stipends to them. His state budget had a provision for meeting the expenses of the marriage of girls, whose parents were too poor to purchase dowry for them. He made secret arrangements for furnishing dowry, so as to save the family from feeling humiliated in the eyes of parties concerned.

His soldiers were given strict orders not to molest women and children, but to respect their honour and property. In 1750, after the conquest of the hilly districts of Kheragarh, he, as was his wont, ordered

that the widows of the soldiers of Kheragarh, who had fallen in the battlefield, be registered for the grant of pension. It is related that many women of the neighbourhood came forward to give their names as widows to have the benefit of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's generosity. In the case of his own soldiers, who died in the battle, he authorised their widows to get their sons enlisted in the army. If they failed to produce a son or a nominee, an amount by way of charity was fixed upon the widows themselves.

10. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's Treatment of the Hindus.

The Hindus formed a bulk of the population in the territory over which Hafiz-ul-Mulk exercised his way. Being of a liberal and tolerant nature, he accorded the Hindus an equal treatment with the Muslims. Having firm faith in Islamic ideals and principles of *Shariat*, he ever considered it a sacred duty to provide all comforts to the Hindus and to give them every facility to improve their prospects and carve a respectable career for themselves under his protection. They had full freedom of worship and there was no restriction on the building of new temples and places of worship. The Hindus observed their festivals without obstruction and nothing untoward ever happened during their celebration. There is no mention in any contemporary history written by Muslims, Hindus or Christians, of any religious of communal fracas in the territory under the rule. The first Hindu-Muslim riot which occurred in Bareilly was in the year 1837, long after the Rohilla Government had come to an end.

A striking evidence of cordial relationship between Hindu majority and the ruling minority is furnished not only by the complete freedom of Rohilkhand from communal riots or organised Hindu rebellions against Muslim rulers during the reign of Hafiz Rahmat, but also by the fact that when Khan Bahadur Khan, grandson of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, unfurled the flag of independence from foreign rule in 1857 and proclaimed his determination to receive the defunct Rohilla regime, Hindu volunteers, in thousands, flocked round him.

The Rohilla State, though Islamic in character, never encouraged conversion of non-Muslims to Islam by force or temptation. If there were some cases of Hindu conversion, they were purely voluntary under the influence of priests and mystics, who enjoyed popularity among all sections of people. The vast majority of Hindus at the centres of Rohilla Government and Islamic learning—Bareilly, Pilibhit, etc.—gives counter to the lie of forcible conversion of Hindus under Muslim rule.

The Hindus occupied themselves mostly in trade and agriculture, and had full protection and freedom in carrying on their professions. There was no restriction on them for enlisting in the army. Some Hindu classes like Khatris and Rajputs preferred military service. They had equal prospects of promotion and advancement with the Muslims. Posts of delicate responsibility and trust like those of

treasurer, ambassador and head of secretariat were open to the Hindus.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had several Hindu officers in whom he placed implicit confidence, and whenever he had to send diplomatic missions to the courts of the Mughal emperor, Marhata and Jat rulers or to the British and Shuja-ud-Doulah, his choice invariably fell upon his Hindu confidants. Raja Man Rai and Diwan Pahar Singh filled the post of Diwan or Prime Minister, the highest office under a ruler. The Hindus, moreover, commanded a powerful voice in the deliberation of important and high matters of state, discussed in secret meetings.

His Hindu subjects shared in an equal degree the bounties and generosity of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, and in their turn, they vied to excel other sections of subjects in demonstrating loyal service and readiness for any sacrifice for their ruler. In his last and tragic battle against Shuja-ud-Doulah and his British allies when his own sardars and clansmen were deserting him in batches and evading financial commitments, Pahar Singh and hosts of Rajputs offered every kind of assistance.

11. His munificance.

The distinguishing features of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's character were his munificance and magnanimity, connivance at the shortcomings and ungratefulness of those for whose sake be spared no sacrifice, even at the cost of his own interests and prospects. In all state celebrations, nuptial festivities and public functions his real

purpose was to let the masses benefit and enjoy as much as possible.

A European writer bears testimony to the great popularity of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, when he records his impressions of a visit to Bareilly forty years after his death " Hafiz Rahmat Khan is remembered here with highest esteem and respect.

12. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's courage and heroism.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had been a hero of many a battle and pitched engagement. He displayed cool courage and resourcefulness of a high order in the midst of danger. He had under his command Afghan sardars of high mettle and dashing energy ; but he rose, head and shoulder, above them and was respected by them for his great fighting qualities.

13. His learning and Scholarship.

Historians have generally maintained silence concerning Hafiz-ul-Mulk's literary attainments. Taking their *clue* from Indian writers, the English historians and annalists have painted him totally illiterate. In the famous 'Hastings' impeachment Mr. Law, while speaking in the Governor-General's defence before the British Parliament, tried to prove that Hafiz-ul-Mulk had no pretension to learning or poetry and that those who regard him a poet are guilty of confounding him with the celebrated Persian poet *Hafiz*. Not content with this charge, he went even to the length of asserting that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was not Hafiz (one who remembers 'Quran' by heart) but he got this surname

from the fact that his benefactor Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan had made him Muhafiz (guardian) of his sons. That he was a full-fledged Hafiz and remembered 'Quran' meticulously is amply proved by the well-established fact that he used to recite the text of the scripture regularly, year after year, in the month of *Ramazan* and conducted Tarawih congregations.

As regards his poetic attainment, it is the height of absurdity to assert, as Law has done, that he had been mistaken for 'Hafiz' of Shiraz. 'Hafiz' flourished in the 14th century. It is true that Hafiz Rahmat's poetic products are totally extinct and hence it is not possible to prove by internal evidence after comparing the works of both of them that they are two different persons and that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was a poet of no mean order. Nevertheless, it is historically true that Hafiz-ul-Mulk produced poetical work both in Persian and Pushtu.

Sir John Strachey in Appendix A to his well-known work "Hastings and the Rohilla War" has written :

"M. Darmesteter gives an account of his visit to Rampur, and he mentions that, when he was leaving the place, a Rohilla presented him with a collection of poems by Hafiz Rahmat and other Rohilla Chiefs. I am indebted to M. Darmesteter for the following further information. The collection presented to him at Rampur and which is now among the Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum, contains a number

of poetical composition by Afghan Chiefs, and one of them is a poem by Hafiz Rahmat in Pushtu ; it has for its subject the hereditary enmity between the Afghans and the Mughuls. There appears no reason for doubting that this was written by Hafiz Rahmat.

"M. Darmesteter tells me that though he has not seen the Diwan of Hafiz Rahmat, it is a matter of notoriety among educated Afghans that he left one. I hope that it may still be found in India, but I have been unable to discover it. In Rampur and Bareilly not even the fact that it existed seems now to be remembered.

"While, however, this volume (Hastings and the Rohilla War) was passing through the press, I received from India four Persian Ghazals, said to have been composed by Hafiz Rahmat. I can at present say nothing regarding their authenticity, but this is not doubted by persons whose opinion deserves high consideration, and it seems not improbable that they formed part of the missing Diwan".

It is easy to infer from the above that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was not only a poet, but he left a collection of his poems. Hafiz-ul-Mulk's time was an age when arms and learning went hand in hand. Men of sword were invariably the men, who wielded a facile pen and won laurels in the field of arts and letters. Ahmad Shah Abdali, the hero of so many battles was a respectable poet and has left a collection of his own poems. Sir John Strachey writes further to show

that Hafiz-ul-Mulk was a man of learning and literary taste :

" I have to thank M. Darmesteter for another fact which had escaped my notice. Hafiz Rahmat possessed a collection of books which after his defeat and death was carried off by Shuja-ud-Daula to Lucknow. It subsequently formed part of the library of the kings of Oudh, a catalogue of which was made by Dr. Sprenger. One volume of this was published in 1854. "The library contained", Dr. Sprenger writes, " the whole of the literary treasures of Hafiz Rahmat Khan ", and referring to a collection of books that he found in the arsenal ' in about 40 dilapidated boxes ', he says :

" The number of volumes in this collection is very great and among them are Pushtu works written with great care for the brave and learned Rohilla Chief. The Lucknow library was dispersed or destroyed during the Mutinies of 1857, but a considerable number of the books that it contained have from time to time been recovered ".

Among the works of Hafiz-ul-Mulk is a book entitled " Khulasatul-Ansab " (quintessence of pedigree) which the author of this monograph has secured with great pains. A copy of the same work is found in the British Museum. In this book the author has given an authentic account of his ancestors, with details of their names and family connections. Another book of Hafiz-ul-Mulk is "Tawarikh-e-Rahmat Khani" (Annals of Rahmat Khan) which describes the con-

quest of Kabul by Yusuf Zai clan and their subsequent inflex into India. This book was first written in 1622 A.D. in Pushtu. Hafiz-ul-Mulk got it translated in Persian in 1770. The book can be seen in the Library of the India Office (London). One copy of the same is found in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, while another copy is in possession of Mr. Syed Itrat Ali of Agra.

APPENDIX I

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's wives and children.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had two daughters by his first wife, who was the daughter of Malik Shadi Khan, a direct descendent of Moti Baba. His second wife, the daughter of Malik Khudadad Khan gave birth to three sons—Inayat Khan, Muhabbat Khan and Azmat Khan—before she died. His other sons and daughters were born of Indian wives, whose exact number is not known.

His senior partner in life was a lady of masculine bodily strength and spirit of fortitude. She wrote a very pathetic letter to Hastings after the death of her husband, which has been reproduced elsewhere. When a maid servant of her displeased her by any undesirable action she would lift her bodily by one hand and let her off with mere words of indignant counsel.

Once during a journey thieves got into the tent of Hafiz-ul-Mulk in the darkness of night. The Begum, startled out of sleep, ran after them, and secured one of the thieves so tightly in her grip that he could not free himself from her hold. Hafiz-ul-Mulk helped to release him from her hold and handed him over to the guard. With all this she was so simple in nature that her girl attendants easily fleeced her out of her wealth.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk's male issues.

Hafiz-ul-Mulk had fourteen sons, out of whom two, namely, Inayat Khan and Himmat Khan predeceased their father. The remaining twelve survived him to face the buffets of fortune after the loss of the empire.

1. Inayat Khan.

The eldest son Inayat Khan, whose stormy career has been depicted in several chapters of this monograph, died in 1773 at the age of 32. He was buried near Bareilly at some distance from his father's mausoleum. His tomb and the attached garden, known after his name, are still preserved.

Inayat Khan was married to the real sister of Nawab Faizullah Khan. The author of Gulistan-i-Rahmat has given an interesting account of the celebration of this marriage and colourful festivals held in this connection.

Inayat Khan left two sons, Zakaria Khan and Yahya Khan, who got no share out of the pension granted to Hafiz-ul-Mulk's descendents. They led a life of impecuniosity.

2. Himmat Khan.

He was junior to Inayat Khan. He died at the age of 12 in 1761. He was handsome and possessed an impressive personality. Even at his tender age he showed signs of refinement and polished manners.

3. Nawab Iradat Khan.

He was more than twentyfour years old, when his father met his death in the battle-field. He died in 1810 and

was buried at Shahjahanpur. He was a man of exceptional qualities of head and heart, respectful, brave and courteous. He had an open and pure heart, detested affectation and hypocricy and never deviated from the path of rectitude and adherence to the words given. He distinguished himself as a man of social excellence. He was deeply interested in the special poetical art of chronogramy.

He was married to the daughter of Abdullah Khan, governor of Shahjahanpur. The marriage was celebrated amidst unusual scenes of brilliance and festivities. Abdullah Khan, having deserted Hafiz-ul-Mulk, had joined Shuja-ud-Doulah. The latter on his intercession spared him from captivity, along with other brothers of his, who had been taken prisoner after the death of their father, Hafiz-ul-Mulk. He was given an annual pension of Rs. 12,644/6/- by the Government of the East India Company. Besides, he enjoyed the income of several rent-free villages. He had 14 sons, most of whom had settled down in Shahjahanpur.

4. Nawab Muhabbat Khan.

He was the real brother of Inayat Khan. He was a grown up youth at the time of his father's death. He died in 1809 at Lucknow and was buried near Vizir Bagh at Kishwar Ganj. He drew a fixed pension of Rs. 17,131 per annum, and was also paid Rs. 10 per diem by the resident of Lucknow.

He was a finished scholar of Arabic, having been educated under the personal care of his father. He

was equally proficient in Persian and knew Sanskrit well. He had great grasp over classical learning and drew to him contemporary scholars and poets, whom he helped in understanding meanings and inticacies of the poetical geniuses of the past. He composed poems in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Pushtu with equal felicity and grasp of technique. His works in poetry were destroyed during the disturbances of 1857, but references to them are found in the writings of many contemporary men of letters.

He was a disciple of the famous Urdu lyricist, Qalandar Bakhsh Jur'at, who lived permanently with him and was given an allowance.

Besides his scholarship, Nawab Muhabbat Khan was an adept in the art of soldiery. He had a great liking for music also, and kept the best singers and musicians of the time in his pay. He was moderate in everything including gait and speech. Nawab Asaf-ud-Doulah had great regard for him, addressed him as 'brother.' But the Nawab never let his self respect and dignity suffer. He was handsome, well-built and extremely capable

The author of Seirul Mutaakherin, who is not well-disposed towards the Rohillas, pays him fitting tribute by saying that his young men (Muhabbat Khan) befits rulership and leadership both by his outward appearance and talents. The writer of Imadus Saadat says, "I have hardly seen a Sardar with such ability and talents, as Muhabbat Khan pos-

sesses". The compiler of Tarikh-i-Sulaimani has quoted Mir Muhsin, who knew Muhabbat Khan, as sayinq "since the death of Asaf-ud-Doulah till the present time (Mir Muhsin died three years before the tragedy of 1857). I have not come across a more handsome man than Muhabbat Khan".

The following anecdote has been related in some books of history :—

Jahandar Shah once visited Lucknow. Nawab Asaf-ud-Doulah introduced Muhabbat Khan to him. Jahandar Shah was highly....with his personality. He spoke highly of the young Rohilla and conferred upon him the title of Nawab Muzaffar-ud-Doulah Shahbaz Jang. Once he called him in private audience and spoke thus :—

"The Emperor Shah Alam is blind and invalid. The affairs of the kingdom are getting in doledrum. I contemplate an armed *coup d'etat* to put him into prison and take possession of the throne. You collect 4,000 Afghan troopers and accompany me to Delhi. God willing! I will entrust you with the office of Wazir on ascending the throne".

But Muhabbat Khan excused himself of this offer on some pretext. Muhabbat Khan was married to the daughter of Abdus-Sattar Khan Kamal Zai of Tehsil Faridpur, District Bareilly. He left 18 sons, besides a number of daughters.

5. Nawab Hafiz Mohammad Yar Khan. He was also twentyfour years at the time of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's death. His son, Nawab Saadat Yar Khan, who has compiled a bio-graphical sketch of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, known as Gul-i-Rahmat, one of the few contemporary sources on the life and work of the Rohilla Chief thus writes about his father :—

"He is alive uptill now (1833) ; his age having exceeded 83. But, leaving aside general weakness, which necessarily follows old age, his physical and mental organs are not impaired. His eye-sight and hearing capacity are absolutely intact.............. His means of subsistence comprise income from free lands and an annual pension of Rs. 8,158 which he gets from the Government treasury of Bareilly."

He was *Hafiz* and used to recite the Holy Quran with great charm, in the month of Ramzan. He was very fond of archery and hunting. He had received honour, rank and marks of distinction at the hands of the Emperor Shah Alam. He was married to the daughter of Mohammad Khan Kamal Zai, a distinguished Afghan Sardar of Kabul, and left behind nine sons and several daughters.

5. Mohammad Didar Khan. He was twentytwo years old, when his father fell in the battle of Katra Manakpur. He died in 1808 at the age of 28 and was buried at Lucknow. He received Rs. 4,116 annually as pension from the Lucknow treasury. He lived at Lucknow with his brother Muhabbat

Khan for whom he had great regard. He earned reputation for the truthfulness, generosity, personal bravery and high moral virtues. He was, day and night, busy in praying for the good things of the next world. He followed the principles of *Shariat* to the letter, said prayers in congregation. He was married to the daughter of Mohd. Mir Khan, who was killed in the battle of Patna by a gun shot. His dead body was brought from Patna to Bareilly to be laid at rest at Mirganj, which was founded by himself.

7. Nawab Zulfiqar Khan.

He died at the age of 46 years in 1797 at Lucknow. After sometime his bady was brought to be reburied at Bareilly. He received annual pension of Rs. 9,922 besides a daily allowance of Rs. 5 and two villages including some agricultural land for his maintenance. He was a devout Muslim who employed his time to constant prayer, contemplation and rigorous abstinence. He was very regular and particular in observing fasts, outside those ordained, and carrying out even ordinary rituals and religious observances.

He was married to a daughter of Kamal Zai Khan at Katra, District Shahjahanpur. He left behind him ten sons and a few daughters.

8. Nawab Allahyar Khan.

He was the real brother of Hafiz Mohammad Yar Khan. He died in 1832 at the age of 81 years. Besides landed property, he received Rs. 6,363 annually as pension. He was a man of serious and dignified disposition. He,

however, occasionally displayed flashes of real humour and ready wit which astounded people. He was an accurate shot and took delight in game! hunting. He is credit with the composition of Pushtu, Urdu lexicography.

9. Nawab Azmat Khan.

He was the real brother of Muhabbat Khan and Inayat Khan. He died in 1779 at the young age of twenty-six years, and was buried at Bareilly near the tomb of Inayat Khan. Three villages, free land and a petty amount as daily allowance, besides a pension of Rs. 2,774 annually, were allotted to him for his maintenance. He left two sons named Azad Khan and Shehzad Khan.

10. Nawab Hurmat Khan.

He was of nineteen years at the time of Hafi-zul-Mulk's death. He died at Moradabad in 1846 at the age of 64 years and was buried there. At first he had refused to accept any amount of pension, which he thought was too meagre to help him maintain his position. But later on with some increase in the amount, he agreed to draw it at the rate of Rs. 3,671 *per annum*. He was superior to any other, leaving aside Inayat Khan, in bravery, physical fitness and manly strength. He was incomparable in horsemanship and archery. He took to heart the unjust destruction of his father's dominion and the subsequent disgrace and distress of his descendants rankled in his soul so deeply that he nursed a burning desire in his heart to take revenge from the Nawab of Oudh and revive the Rohilla

kingdom. He first went to Moradabad and then to Bareilly and tried to muster the old Afghan sardars and chiefs, but his efforts were of no avail. He repaired to Rampur in the hope of rallying the followers of his father, who had settled there, but here, too, he met with no better luck. Nawab Faizullah Khan received him well, but refused point - blank to give any countenance to his plans. He left Rampur in disgust for unknown places. He succeeded, at last, to collect a small number of Rohilla followers of Hafiz-ul-Mulk, whom he found living incognito in far off villages. When their number swelled to a few hundred, he started at their head and attacked Pilibhit. Having failed in this desperate attempt, he went to Delhi. The emperor, Shah Alam, took him into his service, granted him a decent pension and made him Risaldar of a contingent of several thousand soldiers and troopers. But the emperor, too, did not permit him to march against Rohilkhand. Hurmat left Delhi in disappointment, and sought help from Zabita Khan. But he also showed no inclination to help him in stirring up trouble in Rohilkhand, though, otherwise, he gave him warm reception and settled a pension upon him. The last man, he approached in India for help, was Madhoji Scindia, who also showed his inability to give him any help in furthering his plans.

When all the Indian rulers, to whom this young spirited Afghan had approached, had disappointed him, he went to Afghanistan and related before Taimur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani, who, then, ruled

over Afghanistan, the lamentable story of the destruction of his family. He also reminded the Afghan ruler that his father, the great Ahmad Shah Durrani had a great regard for his compatriots in India, whom he had rendered help on many critical junctures, and that the late Hafiz-ul-Mulk was held in particular esteem by the Afghan king. Taimur Shah accorded Hurmat Khan special treatment and even made promises to invade India in order to satisfy the long and heart-bruning desire of Hurmat Khan. But he could not keep up his words, and had, ultimately to send Hurmat Khan back to India, disappointed. Hurmat Khan, a forlorn and frustrated man, after wandering long over long distances, returned to Moradabad in a condition which gave an impression that he had lost his mental equilibrium. He donned female dress and talked after the fashion of women. This was probably the outward manifestation of the mental anguish and nortification, which he felt at his inability to gratify his thirst for revenge against the humiliation of his father and kindred.

11. Nawab Ghulam Mustafa Khan.

He was only 15 when his father died, and outlived him for another fifteen years. He died in 1788 and was laid to rest under the western wall of the mausoleum of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. He drew Rs. 2,460 as annual pension. He was a noted Persian scholar and Hindi poet. His nom de plume was mast. As a caligrapher he was without an equal. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was very fond of this promising son, whom he always kept in his company. He was earnestly devoted to prayers and religious

boservances, which he did not neglect even when he was unable to move from bed due to serious illness. He was stricken with phthisis to which he succumbed in the prime of life. His brother Nawab Mustajab Khan has described the last moments of his life in his famous work "Gulistan-i-Rahmat", which shows that he breathed his last while saying prayer. He left no issue behind him.

12. Nawab Mohammed Umar Khan.

He died in 1824 at the age of 67, having outlived his for 52 years and four months after the death of his father. He used to get Rs. 1,363 annually from the State Treasury.

He was very tolerant, courteous, stately in bearing, courageous and obliging. He was keenly interested in history. The traditional love of soldierly qualities was fully inherited by him. He took great delight in deer hunting and was an accurate marksman. From the age of 14 he never missed any prayer. He left five sons behind him.

13. Nawab Mustajab Khan.

He was only 13 years and a few months old at the time of his father's death. He died at the age of 74 years in 1832 and was buried at Bareilly in the ground of his garden. He was well versed in Arabic, Persian and Pushtu and was a noted literateur of his time. He compiled a biography of his famous father known as "Gulistan-i-Rahmat" which is regarded an important source book on the life and achievements of Hafiz-ul-

Mulk, and on the history of the Rohillas. The author has taken great pains to collect facts, to sift and weigh them and to draw correct conclusions from them. From literary point of view the book is a standard work of biography and it has a great historical value.

14. Nawab Mohd. Akbar Khan.

He was a real brother of Hurmat Khan. Only 12 years of age at the time of his father, he lived up to the age of 71 years and died in the year 1830. He was buried in Rampur. He received a fixed yearly allowance of Rs. 1,776 from Government Treasury at Bareilly. He was granted some allowance from Rampur also. He was sincerely devoted to his faith and passed his time regularly in religious observances. He was very particular in saying prayers and fasting in the month of Ramzan. He attained proficiency in the art of caligraphy and was considered an expert of the style of writing, known as ' Khat-e-Shakist '.

Daughters of Hafiz-ul-Mulk.

Besides fourteen sons Hafiz-ul-Mulk had nine daughters. In keeping with the general practice of the day, and because of the facilities provided by the Government and society for the spread of female education, side by side, with the observance of strict purdah system, the daughters of Hafiz-ul-Mulk got themselves fully equipped with the learning and education, that was in vogue, then.

The names of the female issues and their dates of birth and death could not be ascertained. Their

names are mentioned nowhere. Even the author of "Gulistan-i-Rahmat", and "Gul-e-Rahmat" have avoided mentioning their names and referred to them invariably in relation to their husbands. It was considered in the society of those days a deviation from noble conduct and lack of social decorum to mention the names of female members of the family before strangers. Hafiz-ul-Mulk was so particular in observing this delicacy that he had plainly warned Nawab Ali Mohammad Khan that he was not to dictate in matters of matrimonial connections of his daughters, whom he would not marry outside the circle of his own clan.

The first daughter of Hafiz-ul-Mulk was born of his first wife in Afghanistan and was married there. Her husband's name was Namdar Khan, a descendant of Moti Baba. She had one son named Ghulam Mohiuddin Khan, who lived in Sarauli. He was given a pension of Rs. 2,460 per annum.

His second daughter also was born of his first wife. She was married to Fateh Ullah Khan, son of Dundey Khan and lived up to an advanced age. She died childless.

His third daughter was the real sister of Hafiz Mohammad Yar Khan. She was married to a nephew of Hafiz-ul-Mulk. She left two sons and three daughters.

His fourth daughter was married to Jamsha'n Khan, a descendant of Moti Baba.

His fifth daughter was the real sister of Mohammad Umar Khan. She was married to Akbar Shah Khan, a descendant of Moti Baba. She died childless.

His sixth daughter was the sister of Mohammad Didar Khan. She died two years after the death of her father.

The seventh daughter was married to Run-Must Khan, who died three years after Hafiz-ul-Mulk's death, leaving no issue. He, too, descended from the common progenitor Moti Baba.

The eighth daughter, real sister of Himmat Khan, was married to Shah Mohammad Khan, son of Hafiz-ul-Mulk's nephew, Khan Mohammad Khan.

The ninth daughter was the sister of Nawab Ghulam Mustafa Khan. She was married to Malik Ahmad Khan, son of Malik Syed Khan.



Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan Shaheed

Appendix II

Imprisonment and subsequent release of descendents of Hafizul Mulk—Conferment of maintenance allowance and rent - free land.

Imprisoment

After the death of Hafizul Mulk in the battle field, all members of his family including women and children had been captured and kept as prisoners in the fort of Allahabad. With them were put in prison, besides their close relation, a large number of Afghan nobility and gentry, as well as, men of learning and piety, who had lived under the patronage, and enjoyed special favour, of the late Rohilla leader. When Asafud Doulah sat on the throne of Oudh, after the death of Shujaud Doulah, he released from captivity a few prisoners to celebrate his accession. The relations of the late Hafizul Mulk and Dundey, were, however left to rot in prison.[1] Some of the notable Rohilla Sardars and dignitaries, like Arab Khan Bahraich, Khan Mohammed Khan Kamal Zai, Mulla Hasan Khan, Rahmat Khan, Abdul Wahid Khan, Munnu Khan, Khan-i- Saman and Ikhtiyar Khan Chela were kept in captivity with a view to fleece money from their kinsmen. Asafud Doulah, a few months after his coronation, desired to lay hands upon Nawab Muhabbat Khan and confine him in the Allahabad fort along with his other relatives· But, according to the author of Gul-e-Rahmat, Mirza Ali Khan, the brother of Salar Jang,[2] remonstrated with

1. Among his sons Nawab Muhabbat Khan, Zulfiqar Khan and Iradat Khan were left free.
2. Brother-in-law of Shujaud Doulah.

Asafud Doulah, drew his attention to the promise of of amnesty and leniency made by his father, the late Nawab Wazir, to Muhabbat Khan and with difficulty prevented him from carrying his evil design into execution. But the survivors of Hafizul Mulk were made the butt of harsh and evil treatment at the instigation of evil counsellors of the Nawab Wazir, who bore ill will and secret animosity towards them. The allowance of Muhabbat Khan was stopped, and prisoners in the Allahabad fort were subjected to more restriction and harrassment. Their maintenance allowance of Rs. 100/- per diem was cut down on various pretects. Twentyfive of these prisoners died of suffering, to which they were subjected.

Their deliverance. But their deliverance, notwithstanding the Oudh rulers' arrogance could not be put off for reasons beyond human ken. The East India Company, in pursuit of its imperialistic designs, adopted *a volt face* in its relations with Oudh and took up the case of the Rohilla incarcerants with the ruler of Oudh and pressed him to set them at liberty.

The British, after the extermination of the Rohillas and the extinction of the autonomous state of Rohilkhand, were anxious to annex the kingdom of Oudh to the fast developing British dominion in the Sub-Continent. Their pretended regard for Indian susceptibilities and notions of mass welfare made the existence of a mediaeval type of state a big anachronism, to be obliterated as early as possible. The death of Shuja-ud Doulah gave them an eagerly-sought opportunity

to tighten their grip on Oudh. Negotiations were started for a new treaty by which all previous agreements were set aside and the new king of Oudh was bound to increase the amount, payable to the Company by him for military defence, by fifty percent, and the tribute from Chait Singh, the Raja of Benaras amounting to rupees twentyfive thousands per annum was to be paid to the Company, who instead of the ruler of Oudh, henceforth, would exercise sovereign authority over Benaras.

The Company, true to its imperial game of creating rift among Indian rulers and their subjects, and playing the role of the champion of down-trodden people, inserted two more provisions in the treaty, by one of which the helpless Nawab was made to pay two million sterlings, left by his father to his mother, who was smarting under the harsh treatment meted out by her son, which had also evoked a general feeling of righteous resentment against Asafud Doulah; and by the second provision he had to agree, albeit under compulsion, to set all Rohilla prisoners at liberty and provide for their sustenance. Their incarceration had fanned the feelings of masses in Oudh and Rohilkhand, and could not be tolerated, any longer, by the officials of the Company in view of their broader political interests and long—range policy of territorial aggrandisement. This intervention of the Government of the East India Company in the interest of the unfortunate Rohilla captives, no doubt, raised the stock of the Company high in the eyes of the common people of Oudh and Rohilkhand, to whom, by contrast

the foreigners appeared the very antithesis of the callous ad revengeful Nawab Wazir of Oudh. It was this successful diplomatic stroke, which made the occupation of Rohilkhand by the British, in 1801, an easy walk—over. The large number of persons related or associated with Hafizul Mulk, and his Sardars, and the general public of Rohilkhand, who cherished their memory, hailed the foreigners as their deliverers from the tyranny of Qudh. The prisoners were set at liberty in 1775. They were brought from Allahabad to Lucknow, where they met the three sons of Hafizul Mulk. The meeting took place in the house of the British resident on the bank of the river Gomti amidst scenes of piteous wailing and great rejoicing.

Grant of pension and free-lands.

After a few days the British resident broke to the survivors of Hafizul Mulk and Dundey Khan, recently set at liberty, the glad tidings that the Nawab Wazir had been pleased to settle upon them a pension of one lakh of rupees per annum. Out of this amount of pension Rupees sixtyfive thousand were allotted to the descendents of Hafizul Mulk and rupees thirty-five thousand to the sons of Dundey Khan. The latter refused to accept this amount which they considered too isignificant and settled at Rampur. Nawab Faizullah Khan made ample provisions for them. The sons of Hafizul Mulk, barring Azmat Khan, Hurmat Khan and Akbar Khan, accepted the pensions and settled at places of their own choice. Nawab Muhabbat Khan and Didar Khan chose Lucknow for their residence, Iradat Khan



Nawab Asifud Doulah

preferred Shahjahanpur, while the remaining ones settled down in Bareilly.

When Rohilkhand came under the possession of the East India Company in 1801, during the reign of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, the Government of the Company not only upheld the amount of the pension granted by Asafud Doulah, but in 1805 the amount was increased by Rs. 30,500/- per annum in view of proved loyalty of the sons of Hafizul Mulk. The Company further issued an order to the effect that other daily allowances, and jagirs conferred by Nawabs of Oudh or their officials, besides the pension, upon the descendents or attendants of Hafizul Mulk shall be enjoyed by them in perpetuity and they shall never be deprived of them. Hafizul Mulk's descendents thus had prosperity and decent living restored to them.

APPENDIX III

Rohilkhand under Oudh and Company Rule

Oudh Rule

On the conquest of Rohilkhand, Shujaud Doulah appointed his son, Saadat Ali Khan, governor of Bareilly. But one of Asafud Doulah's first acts as ruler was to banish his brother to Benares, replacing him by his father-in-law, Surat Singh. During the latter's administration a treaty was made in 1788 between the Company and the Nawab Wazir, permitting the latter to reimpose the transit dues abolished by Hafiz Rahmat Khan—this agreement being apparently commemmorated by a coin struck at Asafabad, Bareilly on the 30th of July 1788.[1]

At the time of the Rampur outbreak the governor was one Shimbunath, who afterwards was constantly engaged in repelling the incursions of the Nepalese. The latter kept the northern frontier of Rohilkhand in a state of continual unrest between 1794 and 1798. On one occasion they captured and held Kilpuri and a large portion of the Tarai, but eventually they were expelled by forces sent from Bareilly under Shimbunath and Ata Beg. Under both Asafud Doulah and his successor, Saadat Ali Khan, the maladministration of Rohilkhand was deplorable. The governors were mere collectors of the revenue, who sublet the various parganas to their underlings, and the latter devoted themselves to exacting the utmost from the unhappy cultivators. Under the Rohillas agriculture appears to have prospered, though the question has been

1. A specimen is in the possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright—(*Author*).

much debated, but under Oudh rule all signs of prosperity vanished and large tracts of fertile land relapsed into waste. Mr. Tennant in 1799 travelled through Rohilkhand and visited Chandausi, Bisauli, Aonla, Aliganj, Bareilly and Faridpur. He states that the fine province had become a desert in the course of the last twenty years. Though the signs of recent cultivation were everywhere apparent, the population had greatly diminished, abandoned houses were painfully numerous and the fields had become the abode of innumerable wild beasts. Commerce was at its lowest ebb, and few industries were to be seen. This state of affairs was ascribable as much to the wholesale emigration of the Rohillas as to the evil effects of Oudh misgovernment.

The cession

In 1801 all Rohilkhand, as well as other extensive territories, was ceded to the Company by Sadat Ali Khan in extinction of the debts, he had incurred on account of the British troops maintained in Oudh. Bareilly was made the seat of a collectorate and was also the head quarters of the Board of Commissioners for the ceded provinces. At the earlist opportunity the new rulers set about the introducing of reforms, but progress was hindered by the famine of 1803-04 and the disturbed condition of the country. In 1805 the northern parganas were harried by bands of marauders from the forces of Amir Khan Pindari,[1] whose horsemen are said to have reached Pilibhit. Of a more serious nature was an outbreak of the Jangharas, led by the Zamindars of

1. The future Nawab of Tonk, a state in Rajputana. He is wrongly called Pindari by Anglo-Indian historians (Tr).

Intgaon in Bisalpur. The trouble was practically confined to the present district of Pilibhit, but more than a year elapsed before quiet was restored.

Revolt at Bareilly

Next followed the war with Nepal, between 1813 and 1816. Major Hearsey was employed to levy Pathans at Bareilly and to march them into Kumaun, but the expedition undertaken in 1815, ended disastrously, the Pathans bolting on their first encounter with the Nepalese, who took Major Hearsey prisoner. The immediate result was unimportant, but there seems no doubt that the unfortunate commencement of the war helped encourage the Pathans in their restless attitude and engender contempt for the ruling power. The new government, which put the Rohillas on a state of equality with their former subjects, was particularly distasteful to the Rohillas, among whom were many families, who had held high rank under Musalman rule; but were now compelled to live in comparative indigence and irksome tranquillity. The rigid assessment of the land and the unaccustomed formalities of the judicial administration increased the unpopularity of a government whch had lost much prestige in the war with the despised hillmen. While the leaders of the city population were in this temper, the imposition of a house tax under regulation XVI of 1814 aroused fresh resentment. Few of the principal men would undertake the assessment and collection of the tax in their respective wards; and those who at first assented were compelled by the popular clamour to decline. Business was at a standstill, the shops were closed and

crowds assembled at the *Kutcherry* to petition against the impost. The leader of the movement was Mufti Mohammad Ewaz, a man of advanced age and reputed sanctity, who was held in profound veneration throughout Rohilkhand. The magistrate, Mr. Dumbleton, who was already far from being popular with the town people, aggravated the situation by entrusting the assessment to the Kotwal, a Hindu who was universally detested. on the 16th of April 1816 mobs of both Musalmans and Hindus assembled in the streets and the magistrate went down to the city with a few horsemen and 30 men of the provincial battalion. The mob fell back on his approach, but near the Mufti's house they turned and attacked the troopers of whom two were killed and several wounded. The sepoys then fired, but though many fell, the rioters held their ground till Mohammed Ewaz had made good his escape to the Husaini Bagh where the green flag of Islam was unfurled. He was at once joined by a number of armed Musalmans, reinforced in the course of the next two days by others from Pilibhit, Rampur and Shahjahanpur, so that in a short time the Mufti led a force of some 5,000 men armed with swords and matchlocks. The troops at the magistrate's disposal numbered 270 men of the 27th Native Infantry, two guns and 150 men of the police battalion. Sending urgent requisitions to the neighbouring stations, he was joined on the 19th by a regiment of irregular cavalry from Moradabad under Captain Cunningham, while the second battalion of the 13th N. I. was advancing from the same place with the utmost despatch.

Negotiations were opened and the Mufti expressed his willingness to retreat, though he admitted his inability to control the crowd. The more respectable of those who had joined the insurgents withdrew, the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan among them, but the mob persisted in their attitude, demanding the withdrawal of the obnoxious Regulation, the surrender of the Kotwal, provision for the families of the slain and a general amnesty. These terms were refused, and the mob determined to forestall the arrival of the 13th. N.I. of whose approach they were aware. On the 21st they murdered the son of Mr. Leycester, one of the judges of the court of circuit; and this was followed by a general charge on the sepoys, who were greatly outnumbered. But Captain Cunningham charged the rebel masses and threw them into confusion, driving them into a groove surrounded by a mud wall. From this they were soon dislodged by the Government troops, who pursued them into the old city, burning the huts in which they had taken refuge. In this affray the troops lost 21 killed and 62 wounded, while the insurgents left behind them three or four hundred dead and many wounded and captured. Matters were settled by the arrival of the 13th N. I. and the town submitted peaceably to the regulation. The Mufti and some of the ringleaders left the Company's territory and retired to Tonk, while most of the prisoners were released on a promise of good behaviour, at the intercession of their countrymen in the ranks of the provincial battalion and the Rohilla horse, who had faithfully discharged their duty in

conflict with their friends and relatives. The numerous bodies of Musalmans on the march from other towns returned quietly to their homes and the district was gradually restored to its former tranquillity.

Riots of 1837

One result of this outbreak was the construction of the fort in the cantonment, though it afterwards proved too small for use in an emergency. The peace of Bareilly was again disturbed in 1837, when the *Muharram* and the *Ramnaumi* festivals coincided. Quarrels arose between the Hindus and the Musalmans, and it was only after protracted negotiations that Mr. Clarke, the magistrate, was able to effect a reconciliation. The peace, however, was but nominal, for sometime later one of the leading Brahmans of the city, Chaudhri Basant - Rai, was stabbed by a Musalman carpetmaker, Rahimullah or late Rahim Bakhsh Brelvi. The assassin was hanged; but the famine of the same year was the cause of further disturbances both in Bareilly and in other parts of the district; riots and dacoities being unusually prevalent till the return of plenty in the autumn of 1838.

The Mutiny

The history of the Mutiny in this district is of unusual interest, not so much on account of the tragedy of the initial outbreak, but because Bareilly became again for a while the capital of a Rohilla State and witnessed a remarkable experiment in native administration. Almost immediately after the receipt of information regarding the Meerut outbreak, the European ladies and children

were sent off to Naini Tal. The troops remained outwardly quiet, but were known to be in a state of nervous excitement, and this was constantly aggravated by the arrival of emissaries from Meerut, Delhi and elsewhere, and also by the disaffected Musalmans of the city.

Outbreak of—

The storm broke on Sunday the 31st of May, the opening act being the burning of Captain Brownlow's house in the morning. At 11. A. M. the sepoys of the 68th rushed to the guns poured a volley of grape into the nearest houses, small parties went to each bungalow, while the rest scattered over the cantonments in search of Europeans.

Khan Bahadur Khan, a pensioned officer of the Company and descendant of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, was declared viceroy of Rohilkhand, under the king of Delhi, by the people. He was that day enthroned with much pomp and splendour in front of the Kotwali, amid the plaudits of the majority of people.

It is related that a day prior to the outbreak of disturbances Mr. Alexander, the Commissioner of Bareilly, spoke to Khan Bahadur Khan:

"It is feared disturbance is likely to occur in a day or two. As this province belongs to your family, it is for you to manage this territory2." Khan Bahadur Khan declined the offer at that time, but when riots actually took place and the Commissioner, as well as other European officials made their way to Naini Tal for safety, Khan Bahadur, acting on the advice of

Nadar Ali Khan and Bakht Khan and presuming that the Commissioner had already invested him with ruling power, assumed authority over Rohilkhand. From that moment he set about the task of preserving order and succeeded in his efforts to some extent. He gave shelter to persons fleeing from disturbed areas. He also found time to start construction of a few buildings. But the storm of misfortune soon burst over his head.

On May 5, 1758, the British forces besieged Bareilly and fought a pitched battle with Khan Bahadur Khan at the river Nakatya. On his side Firoz Shah a Taimurid prince, Ismail Khan and Wali Dad and Bande Mir Khan displayed extreme valour and high fighting qualities. But in the afternoon heavy cannonade from British guns broke the resistance and Khan Bahadur's men were completely routed. Khan Bahadur Khan left the field and fled to Nepal with a few followers.

The day following the battle British troops entered Bareilly and gave the city up to plunder and carnage: the people finding safety only in flight, leaving their homes and hearths at the mercy of vindictive victors. The memory of these tragic events and sufferings of the people will never be forgotten. To revert to the fate of Khan Bahadur Khan, the hero of the war of freedom in Rohilkhand; he fell down from the back of his horse at the foot of a hill in Nepal and was taken captive. He was brought to Lucknow and presented before the Commissioner who asked him to be seated in the chair. But the captive preferred to

squat on ground. But the Commissioner raised him to the chair. In the course of the trial Khan Bahadur did not stoop to flattery or unbecoming behaviour. He spoke with composure and manliness and said.

"I did not start revolt. The Company's armed forces rose in rebellion, and chose their leaders from among those who held title to this part of the Indian territory. As Bareilly, Shahjahanpur and Pilibhit, in short the whole of Rohilkhand once belonged to us, hence Bakhat Khan and other leaders flocked round me and invested me with ruling authority over this area. I cannot be held responsible for starting riot or massacring European ladies and children. I took possession of Rohilkhand only when you had left it out of the fear of sepoys' retribution. The rebels were out of my control, they did whatever they liked. Subsequently armed clashes between my men and yours took place, in which many persons on both sides lost their lives. I am not to blame for it. Now I am in your hands, you may pass any order on me.[1].

After the trial Khan Bahadur was brought to Bareilly and there hanged in front of the Kotwali. On that day the city was heavily guarded, guns and armed pickets were posted in streets, lest breach of peacee might occur. The dead body was handed over to the Muslim soldiers of the Govt. army who buried it in the compound of the District Jail.

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1. Tarikh-i-Sulaimani. (Author). See also 'Khan Bahadur Khan, Shaheed' by Syed Mustafa Ali Brelui and published by All Pakistan Eduational Conference, Karachi.

Khan Bahadur Khan had on his seal, when in authority the words 'Al-Hukmo-Lillah-Walmulk-o-Lillah'.

A mosque built by Khan Bahadur is still found in Bareilly. It is in good condition. Khan Bahadur Khan was a poet having Ma'arif as his pen-name[1]. By the end of 1858 the whole of Rohilkhand passed into the hands of the British and from then upto 1947, it suffered famines, Hindu-Muslim riots and political unrest; the unavoidable concommitants of the policy 'Divide and Rule' followed by the British administration. The Rohillas gradually lost their jagirs and began to show physical and economic deterioration.

Since 1947 the Bharat Government has pursued a well-planned programme of subjecting the Muslims to every conceivable measure of national indignity and economic strangulation. Avenues of service, trade and commerce are being gradually closed on them. Under this slow poisoning the stalwart Rohillas are losing their physical stamina and economic stability. The Brahmanical system of education based on Hindu mythology, invidiously imposed upon them, is, as calculated, eating at the vitals of Islamic culture and Muslim national sentiment. As if it is not enough, organised terrorism and killings are let loose upon them at fixed intervals. Unable to face such excesses and bloody reprisals a large number of Muslims from Rohilkhand have migrated to Pakistan, and thus their corporate existence and tribal life in the land of their adoption have been brought to an end.

1. Tarikh-i-Sulaimani. (Author)

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